



ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 54, Number 1
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ABOUT THE COVER—The hand-colored steel engraving of “Upper Falls of the Yellowstone River,” was done by Thomas Moran. Born in England in 1837, Moran was a member of the Hayden Survey to the Yellowstone region in 1871. His sketches were important in influencing Congress to designate Yellowstone the first national park in the world in 1872. This steel engraving appeared in the book, Picturesque America, published in 1874 and edited by William Cullen Bryant. The engraving was loaned for the cover by the owner, Phil Roberts, Cheyenne historian, attorney and Annals co-editor.

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A Victorian English

From England To Old Faithful:

By Brian P. Birch



PHOTO COURTESY
OF THE AUTHOR

Charles M. Buckle, inveterate traveler and journal keeper, in a portrait made in Italy two years before his Yellowstone trip.

In the final decades of the last century, the American West featured strongly in the itineraries of many foreign travelers and the impressions of their travels were as diverse as the places that attracted them. The great variety of this travel literature ranged from books based on a few months' stay on some western frontier to privately-circulated journals which recorded railroad excursions to the Pacific Coast. British visitors to the West were especially prolific in producing these accounts. The reasons for this influx of British tourists seeing the West were manifold. There were plenty of British people in the late Victorian era with the time, money and with a level of education, which encouraged them to seek out the less frequented spots and to record their impressions of them. Many were experienced tourists by the time they chose to visit the West. The development of faster trans-Atlantic steamships and the spread of the rail network across the West made touring vast areas of remaining wilderness relatively easy.

British visitors possessed varied motives for making the trip west, which account for the diverse travel itineraries they chose and the different impressions they gained. There were young men from wealthy families, and newly out of public school or university. They finished their education with a spell of hunting in the West, sometimes seeing if some district offered opportunity to settle as farmers.¹ British businessmen, sometimes combined a vacation with a visit to relatives, but with one eye on investment opportunities in the West's railroads, ranches or real estate. British families, returning from service in India or some other part of the Empire, sometimes took the west-to-east route across America as part of a round-the-world tour.² Journalists and professional writers, seeing a ready audience at home for entertaining and novel reports on this last frontier region, often made the trek.³ Many retired professional men believed that the novelty of the West, or the pitfalls awaiting British settlers there, warranted placing their opinions about it on record.

A composite view of the West during the last three decades of the century, was compiled nearly 30 years ago by R. G. Athearn, who gathered his information from over 120 published accounts by British travelers.⁴ Further unpublished evidence in letters and travel journals is now coming to light, and there is probably justification for further examination of this topic.⁵ Such study may well reveal that British images of the West depended upon the tourists' backgrounds, the purpose of their trips, the routes they chose and, if they published their observations,

man's View of the West

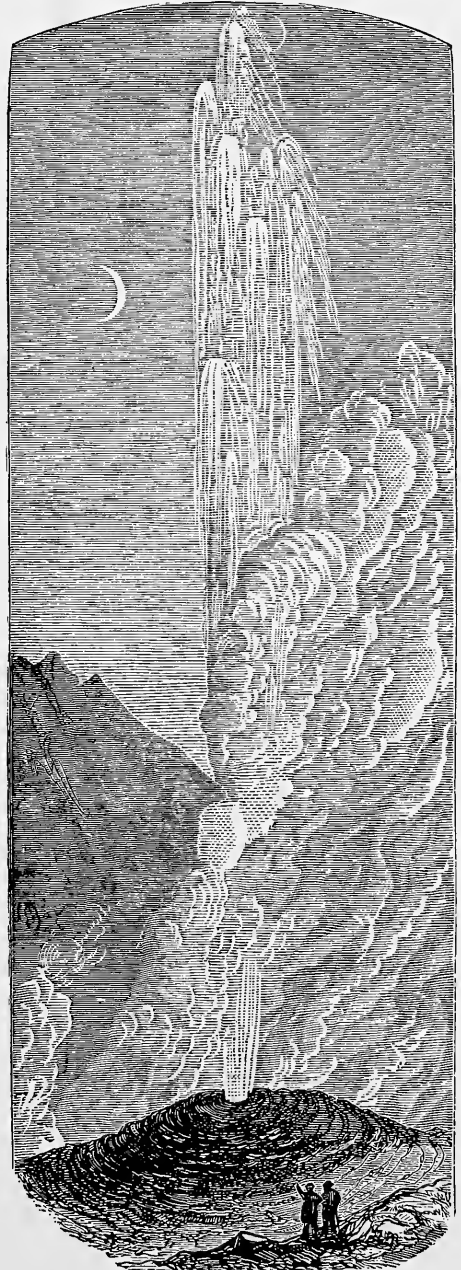
the readership for whom they wrote. It is abundantly clear, for example, that when British travelers started their tours from the East Coast, some were especially struck by the less-settled aspects of the landscapes further west, at the same time noting the speed with which the wilderness was being subdued.⁶ Others who chose the Pacific Coast or the Far West as their destination seemed less impressed by intervening regions, like the Great Plains or prairies, than other travelers who made a tour in a specific part of the West.⁷ Furthermore, accounts of Western tours, not intended for publication, often presented a different view of the West and its life, simply because these writers were free of the inhibitions of writing for an audience. This reading public often expected its authors to voice opinions of which they approved and to pass over other subjects as unworthy of attention.

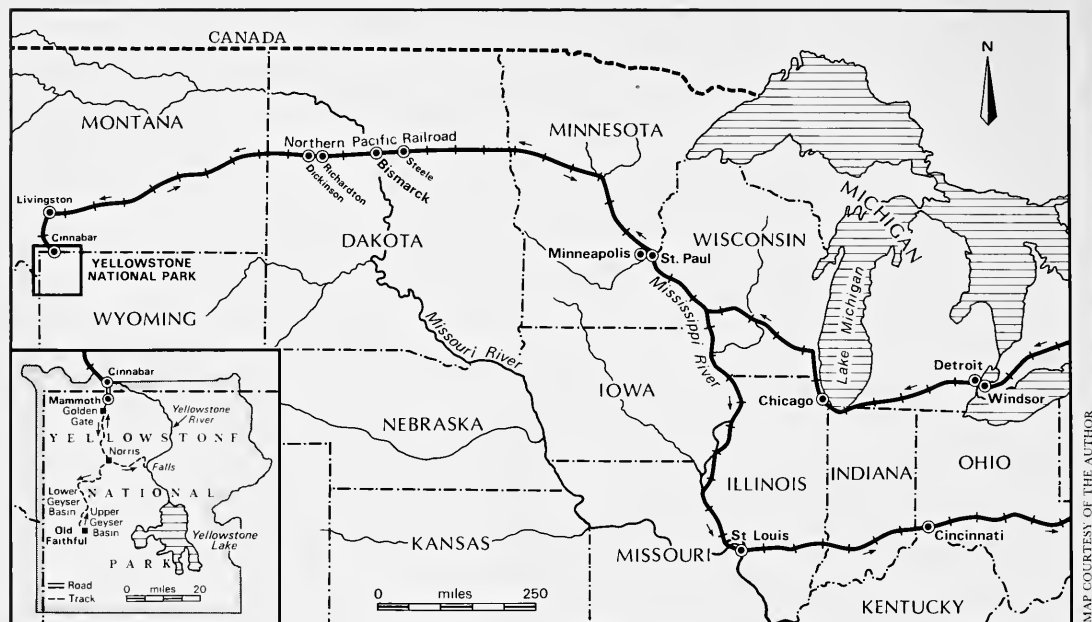
An unpublished travel journal⁸ which has recently become available, relates an English gentleman's round trip to Yellowstone Park in 1885. It provides an interesting illustration not only of one tourist's view of the West, but reveals how the chosen itinerary of the tour helped to condition the impressions the traveler gained. The fact that the traveler, Charles Matthew Buckle, kept a full record of his tour as it progressed, yet with no intention of publishing his journal, also lends authenticity to an account. He was clearly noting down solely for his own satisfaction his immediate and unalloyed impressions of the places he came across.

Buckle had retired from the Royal Navy with the rank of rear admiral two years before he undertook his three-month trip to the American West in 1885. He was 57 years old and an inveterate traveler. Before his American tour he had already compiled several journals recording his overseas travels during 30 years with the navy. By the time of his trip west he was well-practiced in writing tour journals.⁹

Buckle journeyed west entirely by train from New York via Niagara, Chicago and St. Paul as far as Yellowstone where, after a tour of the Park, he retraced his route eastward. His comments on the rural landscapes, on Yellowstone Park, on the developing cities and railroad systems usefully reflect a combination of his own and the commonly-held views the British traveler had of the West.

Like many other British tourists to the West at this time, Buckle found rather little to say about the relatively featureless rural landscapes through which his route took him. In what comment he did make on the rural areas, however, he distinguished between the relative unattractiveness of the areas of little improved wooded





Buckle's route to Yellowstone and return, 1885.

landscapes to the east and the inherent beauty of the more open prairie landscapes further west.¹⁰

In Buckle's mind the attraction of a rural landscape was clearly related not only to its visual quality, but by evidence of its potential to support further improvements. Hence on traveling westward across the prairies of North Dakota, Buckle was attracted by the rolling openness of the natural landscape, by signs of its fertility and especially by the potential it seemed to offer for future settlement. To him, this was more attractive country than many of the already-settled areas to the east.

The northern part of the Territory of Dakota [sic] through which the line of railroad runs presents an almost continuous rolling, undulating prairie almost entirely devoid of trees, except in the neighbourhood of streams where a stunted growth may be found. The soil appears to be chiefly of a light sandy description and is covered with a grass which, however, does not grow to any great height. For the most part this land is said to be very good for growing wheat and oats and barley, and supports cattle well, the grasses being of a succulent and fattening description. . . .

There is said to be room for ten millions of souls on these virgin lands whereon the foot of white man never trod until the railroad was made. . . . The object of the government is to get settlers on the land, as smallholders, and the railroad company has the same object in view. . . . All along the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad small towns and clusters of habitations have sprung into existence. In some cases the names given are those of the first settlers on the spot, as Steele, Dickinson, Richardson, Bismarck had originally another name but was renamed with a view of catching German settlers, so it is said. . . .

In one brief comment on the passing of the Plains Indians and the buffalo he simply notes:

So lately as seven years ago all the lands west of the Missouri were inhabited by Red Indians and were the home of vast herds of buffalo. Now the Indians have been moved into reservations and have had their guns taken from them. The buffalo have been nearly all killed off by hunters. English hunters have done their share. . . .

It is clear that many British travelers in the late 19th century visited the American West because they were as curious about the ways in which it was being subdued as about the varied character of the wilderness itself. Accounts in books and newspapers of the tide of frontier movement across the West, of pioneering, of city development and railroad expansion, were often more meaningful to a British population which had recently experienced similar changes to its environment, than mere descriptions of natural scenery, however magnificent.

This feeling about the West motivated Buckle, and is clearly demonstrated in his record of the few days he spent in Yellowstone Park. Many of his comments on the slow and rough travel facilities around the Park; on the poor accommodations and food, and on feeling unwell from the sulfur-impregnated water, demonstrate how his view of "Wonderland," as it was called, was colored by the inconveniences he experienced.¹¹ He freely admitted that he was relieved when this part of his tour was over and he could get back to the comfort of the Northern Pacific Railroad car. Regarding the details of the natural splendors of Yellowstone, the geysers, the forests and

wildlife, and the course of the Yellowstone River, it is interesting to note his supplementary comments on the problems of preserving those features in the face of the increasing number of visitors to the Park. The management of the wilderness as much as the natural scenery itself interested him, just as the subjugation of the prairie and forest had influenced his impressions of those areas.

Leaving the branch line of the Northern Pacific Railroad at Cinnabar at the start of his tour of the Park he recorded that,

Stages are in readiness to the Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel, a distance of six miles up a very steep, dusty and bad road. Nearly two hours are required for this journey with six horses, the greater part of the journey being done at a walk. At seven in the evening of the second day after leaving St. Paul, the journey ends to the no little relief of the victims who have undertaken to visit "Wonderland".

The hotel called The National is large and roomy but uncomfortable and indifferently conducted. It is in an unfinished state. The bedrooms are fairly good but attendance bad and the cuisine execrable. Hot sulphur baths may be had and are a luxury to the weary and dirty traveller.

The so called Mammoth Hot Springs are one of nature's wonderful works. They lie at the head of the valley . . . in a series of terraces apparently in great measure formed by the action of the hot sulphur water depositing masses of silica, lime etc. . . . Great care is being taken of the region to prevent damage by visitors, but more stringent rules are required to control footwear over the older formations. . . . The superintendent of the Park informed me these springs are constantly changing. . . . With a little care the hot water may be conducted over older formations and the beautiful deposits reformed. This process is going on and the results

in many places are highly satisfactory. The waste water from the springs runs down the valley and is utilised for baths etc. Drinking water must be found elsewhere, but all the water is more or less impregnated with sulphur. . . . To strangers it produces a dryness in the mouth which it is difficult to get over at first, and whilst travelling the dusty tracks, called roads, this becomes intensified.

The regular stage for the tour of the Park leaves the Hot Springs Hotel at 7 am. The machine carries five persons besides the driver and requires four horses to draw it. It is suspended on leather springs and is specially constructed for the bad roads through a new country. On this occasion there were only three passengers and a distance of 55 miles has to be covered in twelve hours. The first stage is to Norris Geyser Basin, 27 miles, where the horses are changed, and where there is a "camp" erected to enable passengers to partake of a very indifferent meal. . . . The road in some parts is most execrable and the jolting such as to make it impossible to keep one's seat without holding on . . . such a journey is more than enough for pleasure.

Leaving the Hot Springs Valley and skirting their bases a steep ascent brings the vehicle to the Golden Gate. . . . a gorge carrying a stream with a fall. . . . The Golden Gate leads into a broad open plain covered with a luxuriant growth of grass and having a bright, clear stream running through it. This plain is bounded on all sides by high mountains covered with forests of pine. The remarkable feature of these forests is the extraordinary number and extent of fallen trees. Generally the fall appears to be due to fire. The trees being killed by fire, the levelling seems to be due to wind. The trees nearly all fall in the same direction. These fires have been very destructive, vast tracts of forest having suffered under their effects. . . . The feature is very extensive as to destroy in great measure the natural beauty of the district. It is said that the fires are due to the carelessness of hunters after large



"Uncomfortable and indifferently conducted" is how Buckle described the hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs in 1885.

game in the Park. . . . Elk, all kinds of deer and winged game are strictly preserved within the Park. Only bears and mountain lions may be killed. . . .

South of Norris Camp is situated the first regular geyser basin met with. Here are a great number of springs large and small. . . . They lie in two large groups called the Upper and Lower Basins which are about eight miles apart. . . . All the most powerful geysers in the region are situated in the Upper Basin . . . Old Faithful goes off regularly once every hour. It is one of the finest but some others ascend to a higher altitude. . . . At all the geyser basins the smell of the geyser water is powerful of sulphur. They all discharge immense volumes of steam. . . .

At the upper and lower geyser basins wooden hotels have recently been erected but they are still in a very unfinished state. Owing to the distance from the base and the badness of the roads materials are long in reaching their destination. The innkeepers are civil and anxious to make their guests as comfortable as circumstances will permit, but the food supplied is very indifferent. In order to see the geysers at the Upper Basin one ought to stop over one day at least. Not being very well, however, and finding bad effects from drinking water strongly impregnated with sulphur and other mineral matter, I was indisposed to remain longer in the district than was absolutely necessary and accordingly I took the stage at 7 am to the Lower Basin along with two other tourists, . . . leaving the stage at the Lower Basin a pair-horse wagon took us on. This is a drive of 30 miles to the Falls of the Yellowstone River involving a mountain pass 9000 feet above sea level and a very rough road. The journey is done in 6½ hours. At the Falls a camp is pitched consisting of a number of tents for sleeping and feeding in. Plenty of blankets are supplied. The temperature in the tents in the morning was 42°F. Outside water froze. . . . The Yellowstone River is tributary to the Missouri River and is the most remarkable river on the American continent. It rises south-east of the Yellowstone Lake, 7888 feet above sea [and] enclosed by mountains 3000 feet higher. . . . About 15 miles below the Lake the Upper Falls make a descent of 162 feet and half a mile lower are the splendid Lower Falls. . . . The

Falls of the Yellowstone, with the canyon through which the river flows, is one of the grandest pieces of mountain scenery to be found on earth! . . .

Again, Buckle was mainly impressed by landscapes that offered potential for human use, whether for farming as on the prairies or for tourism as in the mountains. He also displays an interest in how that development was progressing. Buckle was observing the West in a way similar to that of other British visitors who found its wide open spaces more understandable in terms of man's increasing impact on them.

Another set of comments in his travel journal, on the cities he passed through and the railroad facilities which made his rapid tour possible, provide a final parallel with the observations of other British tourists, several of whom often noted the speed of city expansion in the American West and the variable quality of the service provided by the spreading railroad network.¹² Buckle devotes much attention to both of these topics where, unlike his observations on the western landscapes, he could make more direct comparisons with cities and rail services he had experienced in Britain and elsewhere.

Of the large midwestern cities he visited, Buckle seemed more impressed with the more recently-developing centers like Chicago, St. Paul and Minneapolis than those which had been longer-established, notably St. Louis and Cincinnati. In all cases, he was struck by the speed of their

"The so-called Mammoth Hot Springs are one of nature's wonderful works" This early postcard view included an insert depiction of the Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel.

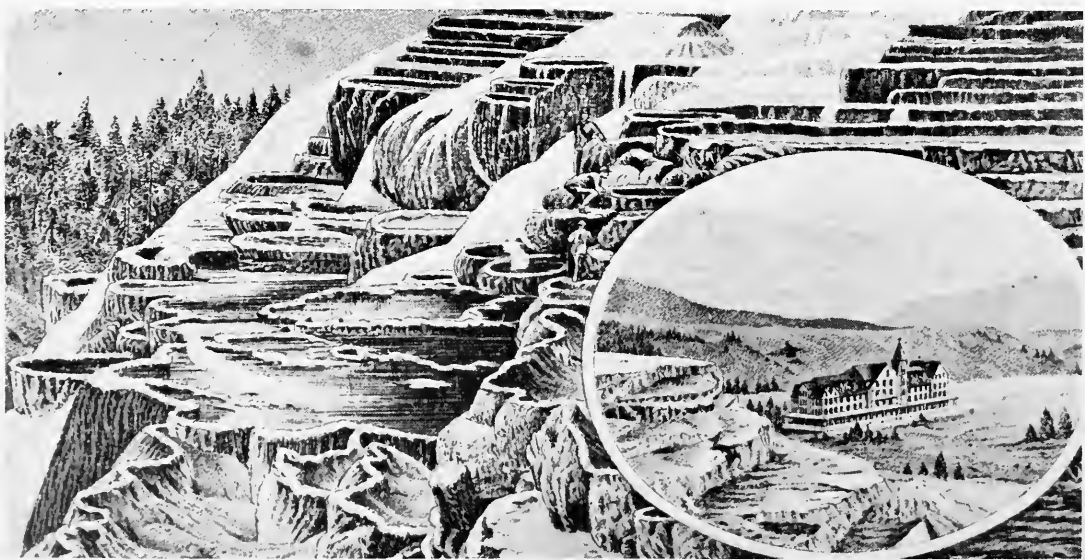
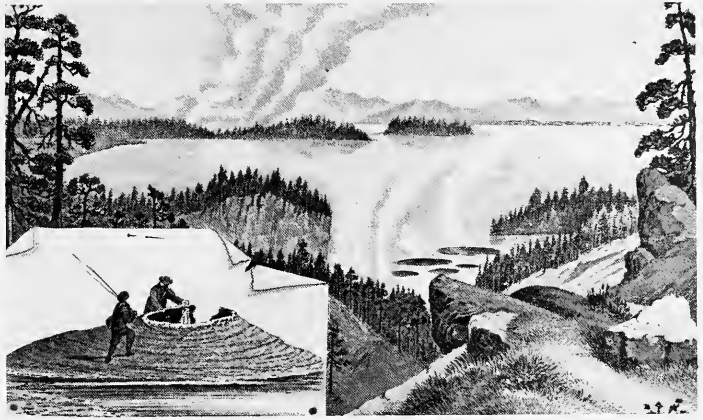


PHOTO COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

The Yellowstone River "is the most remarkable river on the American continent," Buckle wrote. But he was most impressed by landscapes that offered potential for human use. Note the billow of steam in the top view background that could have been meant to illustrate the frequent forest fires. "Vast tracts of forest having suffered under their effects," Buckle noted in his journal. Both views are from postcards Buckle inserted into his journal.



growth which caused considerable disturbance to the existing city structure. Basic facilities, such as street paving and lighting were often inadequate. In St. Paul, for example, he observed that "so much building is going on that the streets are much disturbed." In Chicago he noted of some street paving that "wood has been used in many parts, trees cut up into lengths of about a foot and placed close together, the intervals filled up. This does not appear to have answered well [so that] granite is being laid down." Some streets in St. Louis were well paved but others were "much neglected . . . a mass a soft slush in rains." While he found the streets of Chicago were generally well lighted he noted in St. Louis illumination was "very indifferent . . . electric light is extensively exhibited in front of the hotels and restaurants but advantage seems to be taken of the fact to abstain from lighting the street gas lamps." The streets in Cincinnati he observed were "badly paved and worse lighted." In summary, he was most impressed with the scale and rapidity of the growth of Chicago, where "the population is said to be upwards of 700,000 [yet] half a century ago it was prairie." He was equally impressed with St. Paul,

although it should be noted that in each case he saw the city in its best light since he was shown round by leading citizens who also took him to see their business establishments.¹³

In contrast he reserved his greatest criticisms for Cincinnati, possibly because of the strongly alien German influence he found there and perhaps because it was the last midwestern city he visited toward the end of his tour. He did, however, compliment the city's fine site:

...surrounded by hills . . . forming a magnificent amphitheatre from any of whose heights a grand panorama of the city below is seen with the Ohio winding between. . . there is a general aspect of rowdiness about the city and the streets are dirty . . . [At] the Grand Hotel I had to pay five dollars a day for worse rooms than I have had in other hotels for three and a half or four dollars. . . .

Not only was the Ohio River badly polluted to a "peasoup" condition but he noted that "there are some large business blocks but they do not come near to what I have seen elsewhere." He admitted that "the city is well laid out and the streets fairly wide . . . tramways traverse the streets in all directions" yet noted he felt a stranger in so German a city.

Germans are very numerous, one portion of the city is almost entirely inhabited by them where their trades and emblems are all exhibited in the German language. . . . strangers visiting it once and staying two days as I did will not care to repeat the visit. . . .

As a tourist by railroad, transferring from line to line in the principal cities, it is not surprising that Buckle reserved several of his more acute observations for the big-city hotels in which he was a guest. Here again he was impressed by the provision generally made for the traveler in a region of the country only recently made accessible whereas he was far more critical of facilities available in the longer-settled east. Apart from noting the particular features of the principal hotels he visited, like the Palmer House in Chicago which he described as "a huge caravanserai . . . everything that can possibly be wanted is to be found within the walls of this hotel," it was the central role which hotels played in the development of the midwestern towns and cities and the business functions they drew to them which intrigued him.

The first thing considered when a settlement is fixed is the setting up of a hotel. As a rule American hotels are well managed and well organized. The general system observed is the same throughout the country. On the ground floor is the grand hall . . . in this hall will be found invariably a book and a newspaper stall; a cigar and tobacco stall; a railway ticket office; a telegraph department; a carriage hiring office; a barber's shop; a boot shining department. . . . In addition in the large cities where the hotels are on a large

scale it has become the fashion to set aside a room where speculative business can be transacted by local brokers. Being in telegraph communication with New York and Chicago, the varying prices of stocks, shares and produce are in these rooms recorded from hour to hour on a blackboard. In this way the large hotels in first class cities . . . become each of them business centres and consequently draw more custom within their walls. . . . The ground floor is generally . . . an enormous hall which in all large cities becomes public property. Loungers from the street are continually passing in and out . . . They smoke, spit and chew. They use the washing places and WCs without having any status in the hotel whatever. . . .

Most of his comments on the newly-developed western railroads were also favorable in terms of the quality and range of services the trains offered on the long hauls. He further commended their speed and punctuality, although he experienced more delays and slower than average speeds farther west. He was, however, particularly impressed by the Northern Pacific line on which he had purchased a round-trip ticket from St. Paul to Yellowstone.¹⁴ On this part of his tour he noted,

. . . attendance is good. Trains . . . lack not of employees, the conductor, the brakeman, the Pullman Car conductor, the car servant . . . Then there is generally a vendor of literature and a fruit seller. The dining car . . . is very well arranged and there are lots of black waiters, a steward and two or three cooks . . . a great convenience and the viands served are a vast improvement on the [railside] refreshment rooms . . . The small towns on route do not as yet afford more than rough accommodation. . . . Food in railroad refreshment rooms is invariably bad and generally execrable. Milk, bread and eggs can, however, always be had.

While Buckle appreciated the comfort and security the long-distance train offered through the western wilderness, he formed a less complimentary view of the railroads he used in the more settled east in spite of the faster times and sometimes greater comfort they offered.¹⁴

Railways in all the settled states of the Union appear multiplied to a degree that seems unnecessary. In many cases [rail] roads have been made, not as would appear so much as in the interest of the public as of the parties who have promoted them. There is something decidedly rotten in the system. The directors of a line are "all powerful" and can, and do, act as they please. . . . The system of sale of railroad passenger tickets is remarkable from an English point of view. The long journey tickets are scarcely ever sold at the railroad stations. Ticket offices are located in nearly all large hotels and the various offices in the city. . . . A large business is done in the purchase and sale of return tickets. . . . This business is carried on by companies who employ a number of people to work it. . . . "Scalpers" buy up return tickets from people who do not intend to return within the limit of the ticket and are therefore willing to sell at a loss. . . . I bought one of these tickets for 14 dollars; the proper price being 18 dollars for the journey by which transaction I was supposed to have saved 4 dollars; but at the last collection the conductor declined to accept the coupon . . . and I had to pay the fare for the last section again.

Part of Buckle's personal antagonism to the railroad companies in the east may well have resulted from his suf-

SPECIAL EXCURSIONS

TO THE

YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

Will leave St. Paul and Minneapolis on the following dates

Leave St. Paul and Minneapolis	July 5th	Returning Arrive	July 14th
" " "	" 27th	" " "	August 5th
" " "	August 15th	" " "	24th
" " "	31st	" " "	September 9th

RATE FOR THE EXCURSION, \$120.00.

Including all traveling expenses, as follows

Rail Transportation, Double Berth in Pullman Sleeper, Meals on Dining Cars
Stage Transportation for a complete tour of the Park and Accommodations for Five Days at the Hotels and Camps of the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company.

Parties joining any of these excursions, and desiring to remain longer than five days in the Park, will have the opportunity to do so.

The following are the principal points of interest in the Park, all of which will be visited during the five days' tour, viz. Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel, Gardner Can. on Obsidian Mountain, Lake of the Woods, Norris Geyser Basin, Gibbon Point Pits, Gibbon River, Falls and Canon, Lower Geyser (Fire Hole) Basin, Upper Geyser Basin, Great Falls and Grand Canon of the Yellowstone

A side trip to the Yellowstone Lake may be made at an additional expense of \$10.00, not including expense at the Hotel Camp

Each excursion will be personally conducted by Mr. J. H. Rogers, Jr., a gentleman of large experience in such matters, and excursionists may feel assured in advance that nothing will be left undone likely to contribute to their comfort or pleasure

Persons desiring to secure berths in Pullman sleepers for the outward Alaska trip, or for any of the special Park excursions, should apply at an early day to

E. R. WADSWORTH, General Agent, 52 Clark Street, Chicago.

C. B. KINMAN, General Agent Passenger Department, 319 Broadway, New York City

J. L. HARRIS, General New England Agent, 306 Washington Street, Boston, or

Chas. A. Bee
General Passenger Agent.

fering the loss of a few dollars at the hands of a ticket "scalper." His more favorable impression of western railroads was in part conditioned by over 2400 miles on an inexpensive and comfortable excursion on the Northern Pacific line. But such relatively minor factors helped shape the impressions of the West that many travelers recorded in their journals.

1. A noted British travel writer who turned his attention to the scenery and wildlife of the American West with visits there after 1878 was W. A. Baillie Grohman. His best known book was *Camps in the Rockies*, (London, 1882). One of several British speculators in western lands who established a farm settlement scheme for the more wealthy young Englishmen was W. B. Close. He publicized his scheme in northwest Iowa in *The Times* as well as with a guidebook. See J. Van der Zee, *The British in Iowa*, (Iowa City, 1922).
2. One of the best known English women travelers across western America at this time was Lady Isabella Bird who crossed the continent from west to east on her way back to England from the Sandwich Islands. See I. L. Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*, (London, 1879).
3. Several British writers and journalists visited the West in the late 19th century notably Robert Louis Stevenson who recorded his 1879 transcontinental rail journey in *The Amateur Emigrant*, (Edinburgh, 1895). Newspaper and magazine correspondents who reported on the West for British readers included Joseph Hutton of the *London Standard* and S. Nugent Townsend of the *The Field*.
4. R. G. Athearn, *Westward the Briton*, (New York, 1953).
5. As an example of more recent work on the British view of the West see John F. Davis "Constructing the British view of the Great Plains" in B. W. Blouet and M. P. Lawson, *Images of the Plains*, (Lincoln, 1975), pp. 181-5.
6. One British writer as early as the 1860s noted that in traveling west he seemed to pass through the successive strata of the immigration era as the frontier was approached. See Edward Dicey, *Six Months in the Federal States*, (London, 1863), p. 51.
7. In *The Old World and the New*, (London, 1884), W. Ballantine largely ignored the middle west on his way to Salt Lake City while

Lady Guest did the same on her journey to the Pacific Coast in her book *A Round Trip to North America*, (London, 1895).

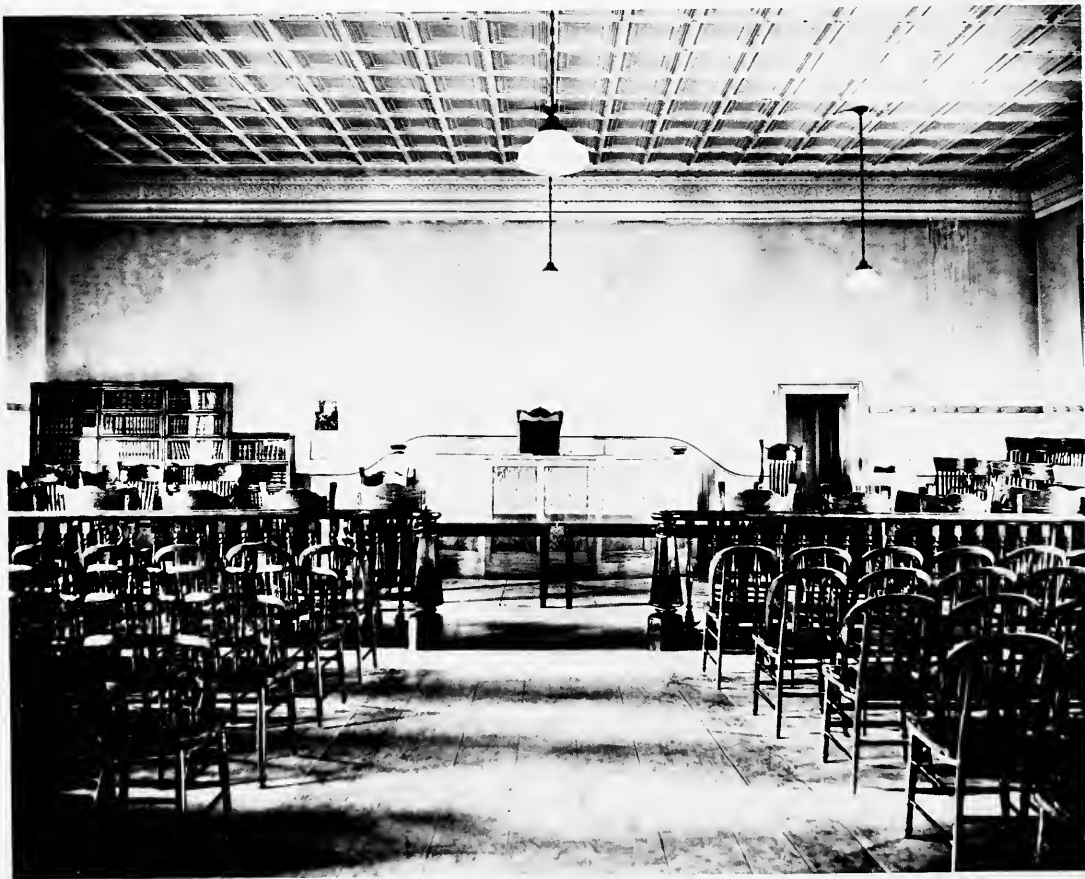
8. C. M. Buckle, *Journal of Three Months' Travel in the United States of America*, (Unpublished, 1885), 215 pp.
9. Charles Matthew Buckle (1828-1914) wrote several unpublished journals based on his naval travels between 1851 and 1883. These, the American journal and other family papers were deposited in the West Sussex Records Office, Chichester, England in 1976. Details of the collection can be found in A. E. Readman (editor), *The Buckle Papers*, (Chichester: West Sussex County Council, 1978).
10. Letters sent home by English settlers in the midwest often suggested that by the late century they appreciated the visual and other qualities of the western prairies over the more forested interior lands. See B. P. Birch, "British Evaluations of the Forest Openings and Prairie Edges of the North-Central States, 1800-1850" in W. W. Savage and S. I. Thompson, *The Frontier: Comparative Studies, Volume 2*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), pp. 167-192. A divergent view of the Dakota prairies can be found in F. J. Rowbotham, *A Trip to Prairie Land Being a Glance at the Shady Side of Emigration*, (London, 1885).
11. Buckle's journal makes it clear he took with him to Yellowstone Park an article from a Scottish newspaper which said visitors "will frankly confess that they are glad when . . . they have escaped from Wonderland." Several books on the West by British writers included sections on Yellowstone which was a popular tourist destination. These included Earl of Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, (London, 1876), which quoted the geologist Hayden as did Buckle, and F. Francis, *Saddle and Moccasin*, (London, 1887). Often published accounts of travels to the Park at about the same period include W. E. Strong, *A Trip to the Yellowstone National Park* (1875), and H. Kirk, "Sixty Days to and in Yellowstone Park" *Annals of Wyoming* (1972), pp. 5-23.
12. Some other British tourists were critical of American railroads such as Lady Rose Pender, *A Lady's Experience in the Wild West in 1883*, (London, 1888).
13. The main Chicago businessman Buckle met and saw round his premises was P. D. Armour whom he recorded as the "King of the pork trade."
14. This excursion ticket gave Buckle a nine-day tour nearly 2,400 miles from St. Paul to Yellowstone and back, including a tour of the Park and accommodation for \$120.



PHOTO COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

St. Paul, Minnesota, the departure point for Buckle's Yellowstone trip.

THE FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT IN WYOMING 1890-1982



By Rebecca W. Thomson

'From 1890 through 1975 only three men served as judges for the Federal District Court of Wyoming'

The United States District Court for the District of Wyoming was established July 10, 1890, when Wyoming became a state. The District of Wyoming is unique in the federal judicial system in that it is the only district which extends across state lines. The jurisdiction includes not only all of the state of Wyoming but also portions of Yellowstone National Park which are in Montana and Idaho.

At the time the federal court in Wyoming was established there were two federal courts: a circuit court with general jurisdiction over civil cases and a district court with jurisdiction over criminal cases.

President Benjamin Harrison appointed John A. Riner the first United States District Judge for the District of Wyoming. With him began a Wyoming district court tradition of longevity in service. From 1890 through 1975 only three men served as judges for the Federal District Court of Wyoming. Judge Riner served for 31 years; Judge T. Blake Kennedy, for 34 years; and, as of this date, Judge Ewing T. Kerr has served for 25 years. Judge Clarence Brimmer, the fourth federal judge in Wyoming, was appointed in 1975.

All four of Wyoming's judges were active in Republican politics and each at some time, served as Republican Party chairman for Wyoming. Three of the four judges served as United States Attorneys, and one served as a referee in bankruptcy before becoming a federal judge. Three of the four chose to come to Wyoming to take advantage of the frontier life it offered. The most recent judge is a fourth generation Wyoming native.

Despite their similar backgrounds each man has had an individual impact on the legal history of the state. The personality of each man was his own and the challenges he faced on the bench were those of his generation.

John A. Riner

John A. Riner was born in Preble, Ohio, in 1850. His father, a millwright, moved his family to Iowa in 1868. John worked with his father in his shop while attending public schools. He attended the University of Michigan where he graduated in 1879 with an LL.B.¹

The year he graduated from college, Riner moved west to Wyoming to accept a position as counsel for the Union Pacific Railroad. For seven years he represented that company in association with the firm of Lacey and Corlett. These contacts introduced him to the rich and powerful men of Wyoming. In addition to the railroad, the firm represented many of the large cattlemen of the state. His opinions in later years generally reflected a favorable view of the interests of operators of large ranches.

His name appears as the attorney of record on many territorial court files and he was the reporter of the second volume of the Territorial Wyoming Supreme Court decisions. His long-time friend, client, and political associate, F. E. Warren, recalled how Riner had furnished his law office with a \$5 purchase of a kitchen table and two wooden chairs. He frequently

traveled the territory by stagecoach and buggy to practice his profession.

His friendship with Warren brought Riner into a position of importance in Republican party politics. In 1881 he was elected Cheyenne's city attorney and in 1884 Riner was appointed United States Attorney for the Territory of Wyoming. In 1886 he was elected a member of the upper house (Council) of the Territorial Legislature Assembly and served as President of the Council in 1888.

Riner was elected as a Republican delegate to the Constitutional Convention. He chaired the committee that wrote the Wyoming Constitution. Credit is given to Riner for "saving" the Wyoming Supreme Court. Statehood was a costly proposition and several delegates were in favor of economizing by eliminating the Supreme Court as a separate entity. Proponents of this measure, including Potter, soon to become Justice Potter, wanted to continue with the territorial type of Supreme Court composed of district judges.

Riner presented a forceful argument for a separate and independent Supreme Court for Wyoming. He told the Constitutional Convention:

I have sat here for two or three days and listened with considerable interest to the discussion had for the last two days in regard to this supreme court. . . . I find that the universal sentiment is very largely in favor of a supreme court, and an independent supreme court, where a man knows when he takes his case into court, he can go there and get full and impartial justice. Now I say that all the argument and the only argument that can be brought against this proposition is the one of expense. Here we prophesy that we are to be a great state, Mr. President, and yet the argument used here that because a supreme court is going to cost us \$6,000 a year, we should give it up. We expect to be a great state, let us then here frame a constitution which will put into operation full and complete machinery for a proper state government, and I believe the people will ratify it and gladly ratify it. If we are not far enough advanced to do that, let us remain in our territorial condition until we are. If by statehood we are not to better our condition, let us remain as we are, and let the United States pay for our judges.²

Riner's view carried the convention. For his service on the Constitutional Committee, he was given a gold and ivory gavel.

Riner was elected to the State Senate in September, 1890, but turned down the position and accepted the appointment as Wyoming's first federal district court judge. Warren helped accelerate Riner's appointment to assure a Republican judge rather than risk an appointment by Cleveland, the Democrat. Judge Riner began his 31-year tenure on September 22, 1890. He was 40. The oath was administered by Wyoming Chief Justice Willis Van Devanter and the Bible used in that ceremony has continued to be used by every judge who has served on the federal district court bench in Wyoming.

Riner had built a successful practice. A. C. Campbell remarked, "In becoming a judge, the public was benefitted. From a material standpoint, his family was not."

The salary for a federal district judge remained at the "territorial rate" of \$3,500. The Wyoming statehood bill provided

for its quarterly payment. Riner received no salary for the first three months of his term. In one of his first letters written as a judge, Riner unsuccessfully attempted to get his salary paid monthly.³

From all accounts he was a stern and dignified judge.⁴ He demanded exacting management of the court. Charles Ohnhaus, clerk for both Judge Riner and Judge Kennedy, described Judge Riner as "a man of the very highest character. . . . Judge Riner was a strict master concerning the dignity, conduct and ethics of the court, and his severity in that regard was at times criticized. However, he carried the respect of lawyers and layman alike."⁵

In his memoirs Judge Kennedy decried Judge Riner's conduct in court. The witness stand was at the corner of the jury box farthest from the bench. A counsel stand was placed at the other end of the jury box, near the bench and examination of witnesses was conducted in front of the jury. "At one point in the proceedings [opposing counsel] presumed to approach me in front of the jury to caution me on certain questions to be asked, upon which occasion he was 'bawled out' by the judge in a very abrupt and stern manner."⁶

Judge Riner's opinion of the dignity of the position of federal judge resulted in a withdrawal from society. A. C. Campbell described the change:

Before becoming a judge he took an active interest in politics. . . . He was then a 'mixer' and his friends called him 'John'—conclusive evidence of personal popularity. When he went upon the bench he ceased political activity. . . . he made the mistake common to most of the federal judges of the last generation, particularly his mentor and model, Judge Hallet, in that he ceased to mingle freely with the members of the bar and did not continue that social intercourse with the community which he had previously observed.⁷

The effect of this decision on his personal life is described by Judge Kennedy in his memoirs:

During his incumbency as judge he had . . . conceived the thought that on account of his dignified position he was more or less circumscribed in maintaining his friendships with the citizens of the town and state so that in reality he had lost contact with a good many of his friends and had become a very lonely man.

In spite of his withdrawal from politics, he maintained an interest in national, state and local affairs. Many have commented on his patriotism and Campbell said, "His patriotism was always virile and during the World War became a passion." Judge Riner once wrote, concerning a juror who could not qualify because he lacked citizenship: "Suggest to him, however, as coming from me that I think he ought to be naturalized at the earliest possible moment as a man can never fully realize what life is until he has been an American citizen."⁸

Judge Riner once said that he understood the disappointment of the lawyer who lost in a case. He related that he had been a lawyer and could "feel" for that lawyer who had worked so hard and believed in his theory only to lose in court. He concluded that he carried no "chip on his shoulder for an ill-considered remark" by such counsel at the close of trial.

His handling of an "unlawful enclosure of public lands" case is an example of his views. Addison A. Spaug was charged and found guilty by a jury in November, 1901, of illegally enclosing 225,000 acres of public land. Judge Riner delayed

sentencing until January 2, 1902, implying leniency could be expected if the fences were removed. Spaug took advantage of this and removed the fences. Judge Riner gave him a token sentence of one day in jail and a \$50 fine.

He was generally considered a fair and equitable judge. After his death, the *Denver Post* commented that Judge Riner was noted for "the horse sense he frequently displayed in rendering judgement."

Judge Riner's tenure as a federal judge retained aspects of territorial days. He held court in rented or donated quarters until he acquired some office space in the Commercial Block on 16th Street in Cheyenne. In 1905 the first federal courthouse in Cheyenne was built and court was held there until the mid-1960s when the present structure was completed.

Early in his tenure he traveled the state to select appropriate places to hold court outside of Cheyenne. He stopped overnight in Lusk where he had to sleep in a tent. It was Saturday, the cowboy's night to "cut loose" and get "liquored up." Cowboys zinged bullets through his tent all night. He rode the circuit throughout Wyoming. He traveled by buggy, making many arduous trips to Rock Springs and Rawlins. His "hardship duty" did not pass unnoticed. A whistle-stop located between Wamsutter and Rawlins is named in his honor.⁹

Frontier life is also evident in the subjects of the early lawsuits tried before Judge Riner. The first case on the docket is a type that appeared frequently throughout the first 20 years of Riner's tenure—selling liquor to Indians, a Federal felony until 1954. Counterfeiting, forgery and robbing the U.S. mails made frequent appearances in the docket. The remaining cases were an odd mixture which included unlawful cohabitation, fermenting malt liquor without a license, stealing horses from



Judge John A. Riner

an Indian reservation, aiding soldiers to desert, trespassing on government timberland and even mailing obscene letters.

In 1894 Judge Riner heard a national workers movement case. Populist Jacob S. Coxey started a movement in favor of a public works program, calling on workers to march to Washington in the spring of 1894. Coxeyites commandeered trains in the West and came through Wyoming. U.S. Marshal Rankin, accompanied by a group of deputies, recaptured the train in Green River and arrested 15 leaders of the group. Troops from Fort D. A. Russell took charge of the Coxeyites and transported them to Idaho. Judge Riner heard the case and sentenced the leaders to four-to-five month jail terms in Cheyenne.

One of the most interesting cases of Judge Riner's judicial career was the case, *In Re Race Horse*.¹⁰ On October 3, 1895, Sheriff Ward of Uinta County arrested a Bannock Indian named Race Horse on a warrant charging him with "the unlawful and wanton killing of seven elk." The Indians of the Jackson Hole area refused to obey the state game laws. They claimed the Treaty of Fort Bridger gave them the right to hunt in the area, citing Article IV of the Treaty of July 3, 1868, which stated in part: "... [b]ut they shall have the right to hunt on the unoccupied lands of the U.S. so long as game may be found thereon, and so long as peace subsists among the Whites and Indians on the borders of the hunting districts."

Judge Riner, sitting as Circuit Judge, held in favor of Race Horse on the question. In considering the evidence he noted that the elk were killed on unoccupied land, 60 miles from any ranch on lands used by the Bannock Indians as hunting grounds for a "great many years." Peace had subsisted between the Whites and Indians for many years.

Judge Riner described his position as:

... [a] delicate one, and only to be entered upon with reluctance and hesitation. It must be evident to anyone that the power to declare either a treaty made by the general government or a legislative enactment void is one which the court will shrink from exercising in any case where it can, with due regard to duty and official oath, decline the responsibility, but the duty to do this in a proper case the courts cannot decline. They have no discretion in selecting the subjects to be brought before them, and the duty, however unpleasant, cannot be avoided. ...

Judge Riner cited authorities and concluded that the "provisions of the state statute were inconsistent with the treaty, and as the latter, under the Constitution of the United States, was paramount, the statute could not be enforced against the Indians." Former Wyoming Supreme Court Justice Van Devanter presented the state's appeal to the United States Supreme Court which reversed the decision of the circuit court under the "equal footing" doctrine.

From the turn of the century and through the 1920s, the oil industry in Wyoming provided litigation for the federal court. The famous Salt Creek field north of Casper was opened and intense activity under the mineral location laws followed. Claim staking and claim jumping occurred daily and created profitable employment for lawyers hired to sort out vague and overlapping claims. Mineral activity caused concern in the conservation-oriented Taft administration. In 1909 by executive order, President Taft withdrew three million acres of land in Wyoming (including Salt Creek) and California from entry under the mineral laws. His withdrawals caused a controversy

that resulted in the passage of the General Withdrawal Act of 1910 (Pickett Act). The act gave the President a limited right to make withdrawals.

The question of the President's inherent or implied withdrawal power was also before Judge Riner. In a short decision rendered June 17, 1913, Judge Riner ruled that, at the time of the action in 1909, the President was without power to make such withdrawals. He began by pinpointing the issue:

... [t]he question is narrowed to this: Did the Secretary of the Interior of the President, under the expressed or implied powers conferred upon them to administer the land laws ... have the power to make the withdrawal order of September 27, 1909?

While the question resolves itself to a narrow one, it opened a broad field for discussion and was ably argued by counsel on both sides. ... It is quite sufficient for the court here to say that it has devoted itself to a careful and painstaking examination of every authority called to its attention by counsel, both at the oral argument and in the briefs, and that such examination and consideration has led to the conclusion that the power did not exist, in the absence of congressional legislation authorizing it.¹¹

The case was appealed to the Supreme Court which avoided ruling directly on the President's inherent or implied right to make withdrawals. The Court stated, "[t]he long-continued practice, the acquiescence of Congress, as well as the decisions of the Court, all show that the President had the power to make the order." This decision provided the foundation for the government to retain and lease oil lands which eventually led to the Teapot Dome scandal and lawsuit in Wyoming during Judge Kennedy's tenure.

In 1916 the famous Clarence Darrow from Chicago came to Wyoming to try a murder case before Judge Riner. During the latter part of Judge Riner's term he handled the Union Pacific Railroad receivership. A massive undertaking, it was of tremendous importance to the state. The U. P. railroad was still, at that time, considered the backbone of Wyoming's economy.

With prohibition came much more litigation before the Wyoming federal district court. A story about Judge Riner grows out of prohibition in the West. Like his successors, Judge Riner often sat in Denver. Colorado "went dry" before her neighbor to the north, and Wyoming became the main supplier of liquor to Colorado. In an attempt to control this illicit trade in "hooch," Colorado placed guards at the border. Judge Riner was on his way to Denver in his new Cadillac when the state guard ordered him to stop. Either Riner was relying on "judicial immunity" or didn't hear the command because he kept going. The guards opened fire, puncturing his new car in several places. Judge Riner was very angry in spite of the trooper's apology and upon arriving in Denver he went to the state capitol and brought his complaint directly to the governor, a former judge and friend of Riner. He demanded that the state make complete repairs and a full apology. The State of Colorado complied with Judge Riner's demands and his Cadillac was restored to its former condition.¹²

Toward the end of his years on the bench personal tragedies weighed on the judge's mind and spirit. His wife of many years died and soon thereafter his son-in-law pleaded guilty in Judge Riner's court to a charge of bank embezzlement. These personal problems, added to his self-imposed loneliness and fail-

ing health, precipitated his decision to retire after 31 years on the bench.

The judge took a personal interest in his successor, encouraging T. Blake Kennedy, his referee in bankruptcy, to seek the position as federal district court judge for Wyoming. Judge Riner, accompanied by T. Blake Kennedy and Senator Warren, personally tendered his resignation to President Harding in Washington. Judge Riner had hoped to continue doing extra duty and had installed himself in Van Devanter's Cheyenne chambers for this purpose. Judge Kennedy wrote that, he tried to do his part by appointing Judge Riner to try several cases, but Judge Riner's health continued to fail and two years after retiring, Judge Riner died. At his death on March 4, 1923, he was the oldest federal judge in terms of service in the United States.

The respect he had been held in during his life was evident throughout his funeral services. Judge Riner was the most prominent and highest Mason in Wyoming and his funeral was held at the Masonic Temple in Cheyenne. Lawyers, judges and prominent people from all over the Rocky Mountain area paid their respects. Judge Kennedy presided over a memorial service held in the U.S. District Court.¹³

T. Blake Kennedy

Judge Riner was succeeded by T. Blake Kennedy who served for 34 years as the sole federal judge in Wyoming.

Thomas Blake Kennedy was born in 1874 in Commerce, Michigan.¹⁴ His father's family had come to America from Ireland in 1793. His mother, who was born in England, moved to America with her family as a baby. Kennedy came from a family of eight children including three sets of twins. His father was an abolitionist who owned a farm and operated a general store in Commerce, Michigan. He was appointed U.S. Postmaster by President Grant, a position he held for 18 years until Cleveland's election. He then served as justice of the peace in Commerce for many years.

Kennedy attended public schools in Michigan and, at age 17, enrolled at Franklin College (now Muskingum College) in New Athens, Ohio, where he received an A. B. in 1895. He was popular in college, an excellent student, and his class valedictorian. At this early age he had already begun to do those things he enjoyed throughout his life, public speaking and singing. Judge Kennedy's scrapbooks are filled with programs where he was either "orating" or singing.¹⁵

Judge Kennedy wrote in his memoirs that upon his graduation from college his father wanted him to enter the ministry. By that time, Kennedy had decided he wanted to pursue a career in law. When Kennedy informed his father, he was told that he would have to finance his legal education on his own. Undeterred, Kennedy read law in a law office and enrolled in Syracuse University Law School. While in school he financed his education with various part-time jobs such as clerking in a law office, ushering at an opera house, and stoking furnaces. On one occasion he worked as a census enumerator. Kennedy graduated with honors from law school in 1897 and received an A. M. in 1898 from Syracuse.

While in law school, he met Roderick Matson and they formed a long-lasting partnership. They pooled all that they earned and shared all of their expenses evenly. W. E. Chaplin,

a friend of both men and editor of the *Laramie Republican*, commented:

This partnership was peculiar in its nature in that the firm made no division of its income. All the expenses of the individual members were paid out of the same pocketbook. If one smoked a cigar, the other helped pay for it and even in the matter of Mr. Kennedy's courting, the "Republican" understands that Mr. Matson helped to pay for the candy although he was not permitted to share in the kisses.¹⁶

In 1899, after practicing together for a short time, Matson and Kennedy considered moving West. Kennedy later remarked on this decision, "A desire to get into the rather free atmosphere of the great West which I had admired and the feeling that the West might offer better advantages brought me to Cheyenne."¹⁷ Kennedy and Matson decided in a systematic fashion where to move. They chose 250 cities in eight western states and wrote to the mayors asking for information on the opportunities in each city. Of the 75 replies they received, the one from Cheyenne was particularly encouraging. Kennedy went to Cheyenne to check out the possibilities. He met with Mayor Schnitger, mounted a "wheel" bicycle, and toured the town. Kennedy was introduced to the governor and entertained at the Cheyenne Club. With that favorable impression, Kennedy and Matson moved to Cheyenne in 1906. There was no available office space so while they waited Kennedy and Matson read aloud the Wyoming Revised Statutes of 1899.

One of Kennedy's first cases in Wyoming required him to defend a man who shot a "colored woman at a house of ill fame." His client was found guilty but the newspaper commented favorably: "Mr. Kennedy, who is a young man and a new beginner in practice, made his maiden speech and it is conceded by all who heard him that he made a very fine effort and handled the subject in a way worthy of a veteran practitioner." A week later the newspaper wrote that Kennedy, "a new beginner at the bar but almost at a single step he has come to the front in our district court and has taken his place in the front rank of the profession. . . . It may be predicted that Mr. Kennedy has a promising future before him."¹⁸

He was active in the community and helped to form several fraternal organizations that still thrive in Cheyenne. Kennedy was generous with his time and volunteered for many charitable, civic, and church-related causes. He also sang in a popular quartet for 25 years. He wrote in his memoirs, "I really got more out of my indulgence in this pastime than in any other." It was singing that brought him together with his future wife, Anna Lyons, who possessed a soprano voice. He also had a well-developed sense of humor that stayed with him throughout his life.

The financial rewards of private practice developed slowly. Judge Kennedy told his successor, Judge Ewing T. Kerr, that the case that enabled him to stay in Cheyenne was that of the infamous Tom Horn. Kennedy referred to it as "one of the most interesting and important cases in my entire experience."¹⁹

Tom Horn came to Wyoming as a stock detective for the Wyoming Stock Growers Association with a reputation that preceded him. He was a professional killer who had worked throughout the West in various capacities, once as a Pinkerton detective doing livestock "protection" work. He described his vocation in the following terms, "Killing men is my spe-

cialty, I look at it as a business proposition, and I think I have a corner on the market."²⁰

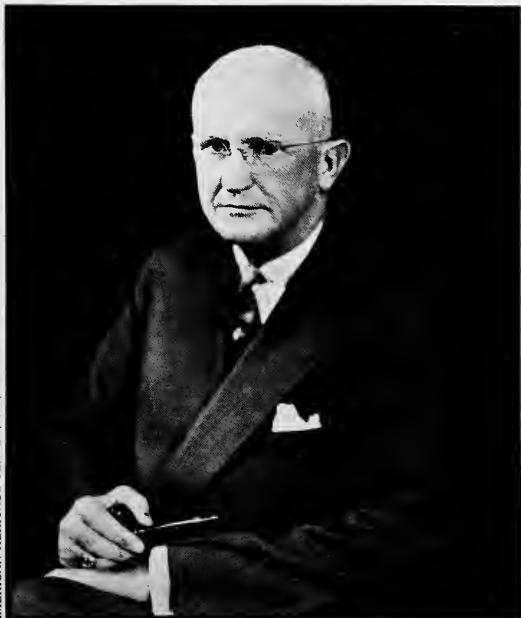
When Horn came to Wyoming he was hired by John Coble and other stockmen to protect their interests. The 1895 murders of two Wyoming cattlemen were attributed to Horn and he was a suspect in the murders of two suspected rustlers in 1900. In July, 1901, Willie Nickell, a 14-year-old, was found shot to death. His father Kels P. Nickell had introduced sheep into the Iron Mountain cattle country, the location of Coble's ranch.

Six months after the Nickell shooting Horn boasted to the U.S. Marshal Joe LeFors that he had killed Nickell. Unknown to Horn, there were two witnesses to this "confession" in the next room, an assistant U.S. marshal and Charles Ohnhaus, court stenographer. Ohnhaus was taking down Horn's statements in shorthand. Based on this evidence, Horn was arrested for the murder of Willie Nickell and held in the Laramie County jail.

Harry P. Hynds, blacksmith, gambler, boxer and owner of the Plains Hotel, who became one of Kennedy's closest friends, recommended that Coble hire Kennedy to help defend Horn. As a result he became the first attorney to interview Horn after his arrest. Kennedy described his role in the defense of Horn:

I had the unique distinction or notoriety of being the first retained counsel for the notorious Tom. Being the youngest of a brace of counsel, it became my duty to perform the greater portion of the 'messenger service' duty in formulating the defense plans and this involved carrying on a large amount of contact work with the client.²¹

The other attorneys hired for Horn included the most prominent Cheyenne lawyers: J. W. Lacey, Timothy F. Burke, Edward Clark, M. A. Kline, Clyde M. Watts and Kennedy's partner, R. N. Matson.



Judge T. Blake Kennedy

Kennedy was given his first large retainer, \$1,000, from Coble. Kennedy and Matson used the money to pay off the last of their school debts. Kennedy described Horn as:

[T]all, a trifle round shouldered . . . he had a black, beady eye which was intensely piercing. He had a marked degree of humor. . . . He was an expert both with a rifle and a pistol. . . . He was keen although not formally educated. I think Horn was a very bright fellow—very apt. His egotism was a frailty and led him to be a bragging man.²²

While conducting the background research on the case, Kennedy was directed to inspect the territory where the murder had taken place and to interview any witnesses. Kennedy related in his memoirs:

The next morning we prepared to set out on horseback across the mountain range through the Sybille Country to interview witnesses. Coble . . . brought in a pair of chaps for me to put on. I was not familiar with cowboy regalia and started to put them on with the "open space" in the front at which Coble summoned the cowboys, while I was in the act, and said, "Look at the tenderfoot."²³

The tenderfoot problems were not over for Kennedy for he still had to complete the long ride in a Wyoming winter. Kennedy became so cold and stiff that when he dismounted he fell to the ground. He walked the horse a long distance to keep from becoming equally chilled a second time. The result of the ride was an affidavit from a cowboy, Otto Plaga, stating that he saw Horn on the day of the killing at a spot so distant from Nickell's place that it could be shown that Horn could not have done the job. Kennedy remembered his chagrin when Horn testified under cross-examination that he thought "a good man on a good horse" might have been able to travel the distance.

The trial took place October 10-24, 1902. Horn was found guilty and hanged on November 20, 1903. Kennedy was the only lawyer Horn invited to his hanging, an honor Kennedy declined.²⁴ Kennedy later remarked that although he hated to lose the case he felt the world was probably "better off" without a man who took killing men to be his specialty.

In 1903 Kennedy was appointed referee in bankruptcy by Judge Riner. He held the position for 10 years until 1913 when Judge Riner felt it might be proper to appoint another lawyer to the position. By 1919 Riner asked Kennedy to return as referee, but Kennedy's practice had grown and he declined. When Judge Riner assured Kennedy it would be for "only a few years," Kennedy agreed to return. He held the position until he was appointed judge.

Soon after Kennedy had moved to Cheyenne, he held many community positions—Secretary of the Elks, Secretary of a Chamber of Commerce group, President of the Young Men's Literary Club, an active Mason, a member of a popular singing quartet, and various jobs in local Republican politics. In 1906 Kennedy married Anna Lyons of Cheyenne, one of his most frequent singing partners.

The same year his partnership with Matson ended when Matson was appointed district court judge. Kennedy became more active in the Republican party. He was named Laramie County chairman in 1910 and was a delegate to the Republican state convention. Nationally, the Republican party had a split and the progressives formed their own party. In Wyoming the second Carey-Warren feud was in full swing, mirroring the national split. Judge Carey wanted the Republican nomina-

tion for governor and threatened to run independently if he didn't get it.

In some counties where Carey had support, two delegations were selected—a group of mainstream Republicans and a Carey's group—both went to the state convention. Kennedy was chairman of the credentials committee when the fight for delegate seating took place. Kennedy recounts in his memoirs that his committee asked for Kennedy's views. Kennedy told the group "that it was very offensive to me that Judge Carey should presume to declare himself superior to the party itself by stating in advance his intention to run independently if not nominated by the party . . . such insubordination within party lines should not be tolerated." The Warren delegates were in the majority and were seated. Carey fulfilled his "threat," and ran as a Democrat. Carey won the election receiving almost 60 percent of the votes. As a result, Kennedy acquired a powerful friend, Warren, and an equally powerful enemy, Carey, who refused to speak to him until late in the 1918 gubernatorial campaign.²⁵

In 1912 Kennedy was elected treasurer of the Wyoming Republican Party. In 1918 he became chairman of the Republican State Committee, a position he held until 1921. Kennedy was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1920.

By 1918 the party leadership thought it was time to mend the Carey-Warren split. They developed a plan of nominating Warren for senator and Robert Carey, son of Joseph Carey, for governor. The senior Carey eventually worked actively with Kennedy for the election which resulted in a Republican victory.

On October 25, 1921, President Harding appointed T. Blake Kennedy to succeed Judge Riner. Kennedy was 47 years old. The Cheyenne paper wrote of his appointment:

Mr. Kennedy should be a very "human" judge. He is known and loved by a large number of friends throughout the state as a "regular fellow" — one with a knowledge and tolerance of human frailty which well may stand him in good stead during his service on the bench. His knowledge of the law and his ability as an advocate have been established for years and to assume the bench he abandons one of the most lucrative practices in Wyoming.²⁶

Like his predecessor, Kennedy took a pay cut when he accepted the judicial position. In the ten months immediately prior to his appointment, he had earned over \$12,500; his starting judicial salary was \$7,500 per year. Judge Kennedy wrote that one of the reasons he decided to become a judge was the thought of demonstrating to his father, long since dead, that he had made no mistake in overruling his father's desire that he become a minister by going into law.

The swearing-in ceremony for Judge Kennedy took place in the courtroom before a crowd of Kennedy's friends. The same Bible Riner had used was given to Kennedy. Judge Riner suggested that he and Kennedy should wear judicial robes for the occasion and produced one for Kennedy by borrowing a Masonic costume.²⁷

Judge Kennedy went to work at once:

A short time before I qualified by taking the oath of office, Judge Riner informed me that he had set down for final hearing before me a case which had been pending in the court for some time and which he concluded would give me a "fine start" in my new position as judge. If the

humorous side of the judge had been more developed than it actually was I would have considered that he was pulling off a good joke on his successor for as it developed this was one of the most complicated and difficult cases that had ever appeared on the docket of the court.²⁸

The case was *Sussex Land and Livestock Company v. Midwest Refining Company*,²⁹ a suit to recover damages in excess of \$125,000 upon a claim that the defendant had permitted oil to overflow on valuable grazing and breeding areas. The trial lasted four weeks. Seventy-six witnesses testified, and at the conclusion, Judge Kennedy formulated a unique method of determining damages, a varied rental value for the land in the past and the future.

In contrast to his predecessor, Judge Kennedy maintained his friendships, his activity in fraternal and civic organizations and his sense of humor. His secretary, Katherine Flick, described Judge Kennedy as, "Wonderful. Many of the attorneys were scared of him. They thought he was awfully cross. But he really wasn't. . . . He did look stern and could be stern, but he had a terrific sense of humor." In the same article his secretary noted that he was "one of the most beautifully groomed men I have ever known." He favored spats, had a wide selection of hats and always carried his gold-headed cane.

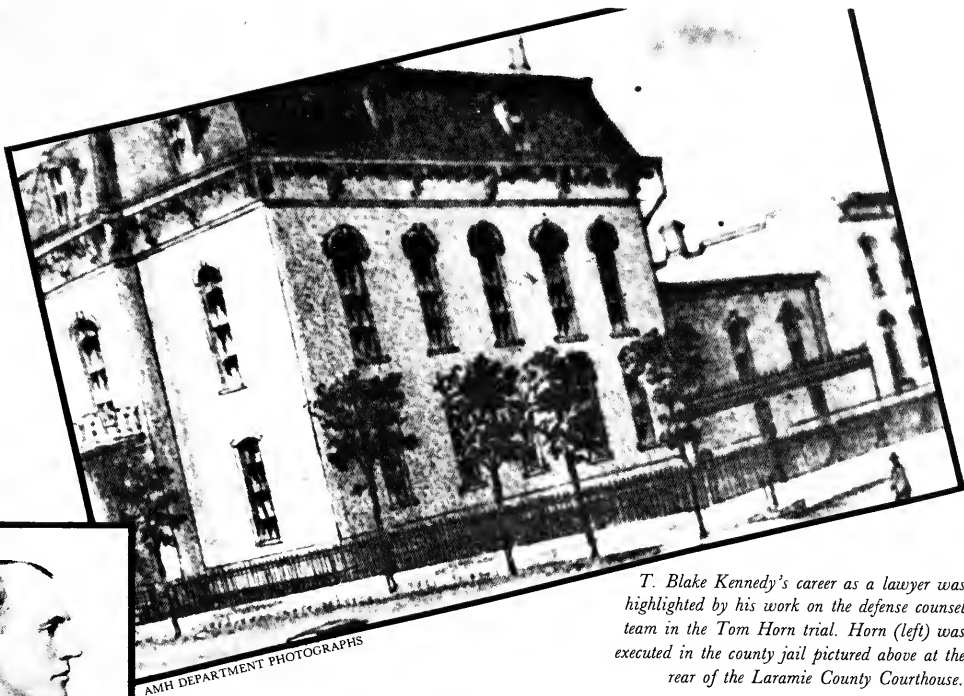
Judge Kennedy enjoyed trying civil cases more than criminal cases, but for the first part of his tenure on the bench, the most frequent case before him was the violation of the Volstead (Prohibition) Act.³⁰ It is evident from Kennedy's memoirs that he did not think too much of the "noble experiment." He disliked the way these cases clogged up his court docket and, as a moderate drinker, he believed prohibition was a poor way to eliminate the abuse of alcohol. Finally, in Judge Kennedy's opinion, cases brought under the act more often than not involved serious violations of constitutional provisions against improper search and seizure.

Kennedy developed his own method to expedite prohibition cases in his court. When dealing with petty offenders he would fine them \$200 if they pled guilty. If they went to trial and lost they ended up with a prison term. For "big-time" offenders the procedure was usually the same but a larger fine might be levied.

In 1921 federal officers announced that in Sweetwater County they had completed the biggest raid of its kind west of the Mississippi River. They arrested 62 persons in the Rock Springs and Green River area. The "Feds" confiscated 1,400 boxes of raisins, 3,000 gallons of "dago red" wine and 1,000 gallons of other intoxicants.³¹ The offenders pled guilty and were fined \$200.

By 1930 the government's prohibition campaign was in full operation. Judge Kennedy heard two important cases that year. In the first case, city officials in Thermopolis, Wyoming, were indicted on a conspiracy charge of violating the Volstead Act. Some of the officials pled guilty. They explained all that they had done was to collect the legal license fees from the clubs when they had knowledge that liquor was probably being sold. They had received no money personally as the fees were put into the city coffers in the normal way. They were fined \$250 by Judge Kennedy. Later Judge Kennedy assisted the city officials in regaining their citizenship rights.³²

The second case was identical but it involved the city officials and bootleggers of Rock Springs, in all some 60 defen-



AMH DEPARTMENT PHOTOGRAPHS

T. Blake Kennedy's career as a lawyer was highlighted by his work on the defense counsel team in the Tom Horn trial. Horn (left) was executed in the county jail pictured above at the rear of the Laramie County Courthouse.



The Laramie law office of S. W. Downey was typical of those occupied by the more successful attorneys at the turn of the century.

AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UW, PHOTOGRAPH

dants. All the defendants put their cases before a jury and were acquitted.³³

These results and Judge Kennedy's method of handling prohibition violations led to an antipathy between the Prohibition agents and Judge Kennedy. In February 1931, the *Denver News* reported: "Failure of the U.S. Judge to impose 'adequate penalties' was held to be one of the greatest obstacles to the Wickersham Commission by . . . prohibition bureau attorney."

On the civil side of the docket, cases arose out of the businesses that dominated Wyoming's economy—ranching, energy and the railroad. These included the usual run of contract and personal injury suits.³⁴ During World War II and the Korean War, Judge Kennedy had many conscientious objection cases. Mormons in Wyoming provided several "polygamy cases" for the judge to try.

During his time on the bench he had several unusual cases to hear. One was a criminal case, *U.S. v. Patten*, which concerned a female defendant accused of violating the National Motor Vehicle Theft Act. The defendant had been living in Alabama when she answered the ad of a Wyoming rancher who was looking for a wife. He wrote and told her he was well-off and his ranch had all the "conveniences." She came to Wyoming to marry the rancher. When she arrived at the ranch she found it to be rundown and without any "conveniences." The rancher put her to work immediately and told her he had no intention of marrying her. One day she became desperate, took the family car and drove to Colorado. The rancher reported the theft and she was captured. Judge Kennedy placed her on probation and sent her home to Alabama with the admonition to be more careful about conducting love engagements through the press. In the newspapers she was styled "the love captive."³⁵

In another case, Judge Kennedy substituted for Judge Johnson in Salt Lake City. While Judge Johnson was holding court, a woman came in with a gun and took several "potshots" as the judge attempted to duck behind the bench and escape to his chambers. The woman's last shot "winged" him in his hip, breaking it. One of the cases Kennedy heard was the criminal case against Judge Johnson's assailant. It was the judge's opinion that she was "slightly crazy," but when he suggested a sanity hearing, her attorney informed the court that she was insane at the time of the shooting but she was sane now. A jury convicted her but recommended leniency.

Judge Kennedy recorded the thoughts he had during sentencing: "While I sat there looking at two big ragged bullet holes on the bench in front of me and three in the blackboard above my head, I decided there was going to be no open season on federal judges if I could help it." He respected the jury's suggestion and gave her seven years.³⁶

The most famous case during Judge Kennedy's time on the bench was the "Teapot Dome."³⁷ This case came before him early in his tenure and had a lasting effect on his judicial career.

Teapot Dome, an oil bearing geologic formation in Wyoming, symbolizes the corruption of the Harding administration in the 1920s. In 1915 President Taft used the withdrawal power, approved by the Supreme Court in the *Midwest* case, to establish a Navy petroleum reserve in the Teapot Dome area. Conservationist philosophy was strong in the government and parts of the public. The administration was concerned about an adequate supply of oil for the U.S. Navy. Conservation of

oil below the ground was seen as the best method of insuring a supply of oil in case of a national emergency.

When Harding became President, he selected former New Mexico Sen. Albert Fall as his Secretary of the Interior. Fall was a longtime resident of the West and had at one time been a New Mexico territorial judge. One of his first acts as Secretary—with the help of Edwin Denby, Secretary of the Navy—was to persuade Harding to transfer, by executive order, control of the Naval oil reserves from the Navy to the Interior. This was accomplished in 1921. At the same time Fall attempted to get the National Forests transferred from the Agricultural Department to the Department of the Interior and to gain control over the forest resources of Alaska. Protests from conservationists and the Agriculture Department prevented Fall from achieving these last two objectives.

In 1922 it was discovered that Fall, without consulting the Department of Justice or notifying the public, entered into a lease with Harry Sinclair's Mammoth Oil Company, by which Naval Reserve No. 3 (Teapot Dome) would be opened for oil production.³⁸

By 1924 the Senate had spent over \$32,000 in the investigation. At that point, President Coolidge appointed two special prosecutors, Owen Roberts, later Justice of the Supreme Court, and Atlee Pomerene, later U.S. Senator. On March 11, 1924, the special prosecutors filed an application in federal court in Cheyenne for an injunction restraining Mammoth Oil from operating Teapot Dome. By that time, the field was in production and the pipeline was under construction. An injunction was issued and on March 13, a bill in equity was filed.

The government sought to cancel the lease, saying the authorization to make the lease was doubtful and that it was a result of fraud and collusion between Fall and Sinclair. Several continuances were granted to allow the government to amass its evidence, so the case did not come to trial until March 9, 1925. Prominent counsel appeared for both sides. One of the defendant's attorneys was the old territorial judge, John W. Lacey.

Judge Kennedy remarked in his memoirs that when "called for trial, the case proceeded along regular lines . . . very smoothly." Both sets of counsel were some of the best that had appeared before him. Only two controversies arose during trial. Both had to do with evidence that would show the connection between Sinclair and Fall in the matter of a bribe.³⁹

The trial lasted three weeks and briefs were filed. Two months later Judge Kennedy read his decision from the bench to a courtroom packed with newsmen. On June 19, 1925, Judge Kennedy upheld the authority of Harding, by the Act of June 4, 1920, to transfer the Naval Reserves to Interior by his executive order of 1921, and of Fall's authority to make the lease with the oil companies. Judge Kennedy dismissed as unproved the charge of collusion between Sinclair and Fall. He found that fraud had not been established by the standard the law requires, clear and convincing evidence, in that there was a missing link in the evidence which failed to connect Sinclair with the Liberty Bonds that came into the son-in-law's possession.

Kennedy's decision read in part:

As repeatedly stated by the courts, fraud cannot be presumed, but must be proved, and in the manner which was heretofore announced throughout our entire history of



The entire membership of the Wyoming State Bar, 1915

American jurisprudence. It may be admitted the transaction arouses suspicion, but further than this the court does not feel justified in going toward a finding in favor of plaintiff, in view of the principles of law announced. This court feels it must be left to some higher court to find from the evidence what seems to be fatal missing links, or to extend the principles of law, so as to cover a situation as it here apparently exists.⁴⁰

Judge Kennedy also noted that public sentiment could not be a factor in the court's decision.

In reaching a conclusion in this case, we fully realize the degree of unpopularity with which it will be received. This is true in the nature of things, because the great general public is reached only with the sensational features surrounding the transactions involved, and being largely in the dark as to all the other multitude of circumstances with which the case is surrounded, and knowing perhaps less of the great legal principles, which, the experience of the ages has taught mankind, must control in dealing with the rights of persons and property.⁴¹

The case was appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit. The opinion in the case affirmed Kennedy in part but reversed his finding that no fraud had been shown. An appeal was taken from this decision to the Supreme Court which overruled all of Judge Kennedy's decision. The Supreme Court ruled that the Act of June 4, 1920, did not authorize the Naval reserves to be leased, so the leases were void irrespective of fraud. Justice Butler, on the decision, also wrote that Sinclair's failure to offer himself as a witness required that the facts be construed against him.

Judge Kennedy wrote in his memoirs:

I have no feeling of resentment or desire to quarrel with the Supreme Court in its conclusion. Perhaps in the light of subsequent events they were justified in reaching the conclusion which they did whether on the basis of pure legal principles or in the public interest where it is sometimes known that well-defined legal principles are stretched to meet a desired conclusion.

The Teapot Dome decision had a tremendous effect on Judge Kennedy's judicial career. Kennedy was immediately subjected to intense personal criticism by the press and by individuals. The judge received letters, postcards, and telegrams containing vicious remarks. During this time, Judge Kennedy's sense of humor stood him in good stead. Although the letters bothered him and at times preyed on his mind, he never seemed to take these missives too seriously. He kept them filed in what he labeled his "nut file."⁴²

The press was not much more restrained than the public. Newspapers all over the country denounced him. "The culpable conduct of Judge Kennedy is what creates distrust of some of the judiciary. It is fortunate that there are so few jurists that fall in his class."⁴³ A paper in Missouri speculated that Judge Kennedy had been bought. Another paper brought out his early relationship with Judge Lacey and charged favoritism.⁴⁴

One effect of Teapot Dome was that it kept Judge Kennedy on the District bench of Wyoming. There was great resentment against Judge Kennedy in the Senate. Senator Walsh who had the power in the subcommittee on the judiciary wrote to Warren stating that "as long as I have the power, T.

Blake Kennedy will never be elevated to the Court of Appeals.” He never was allowed to advance to the Court of Appeals when vacancies appeared or when the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals was formed, jobs which would have otherwise gone to a judge with the background and experience of T. Blake Kennedy. In 1931 Kennedy was prominently mentioned as a possible candidate to fill Warren’s place as one of Wyoming’s senators.

From Judge Kennedy’s memoirs, the impression is gained that, although he enjoyed his work as the sole federal judge for Wyoming, there remained some regret and self-criticism that he had never risen to the appellate bench.

As he reached his 80th birthday in 1953 he wrote:

Often there has occurred to me in my train of thought the query, “Have I missed the boat?” Throughout it runs the theory that I have not made as much out of my life as possible. . . . Would it have been possible to achieve a position . . . as judge akin to the esteemed Walter L. Sanborn or Charles Evans Hughes? . . . I seem to find a sort of answer to these queries in the rather satisfying thought that perhaps I reached a station as high as my inherent limitation would permit me to go.⁴⁵

Earlier in 1931 he analyzed his position in a letter he wrote to Judge Lacey:

As to the opportunity for my advancement in the way of elevation to the Court of Appeals, it would not be too conservative to say that my chances are not good. . . . We sometimes become the unwitting victim of circumstances, and in my case having been unfortunate enough in refusing to shirk responsibility, to be called to sit in cases where public opinion became intense and where litigation became a political football, the recollections of which still live, make it impossible to expect that a judge would, under the circumstances, be given credit for sincere motive and honest judgment.⁴⁶

So, Judge Kennedy continued in Wyoming and like all Wyoming judges he traveled extensively to hold court in other districts. He sat on the Eighth Circuit (later the Tenth Circuit) on 14 occasions and 83 times on assignment to other district courts. Many of these trips combined two of the judge’s passions—travel and baseball.

Judge Kennedy was called a “walking baseball encyclopedia” and was once mentioned as a successor to Commissioner of Baseball, Kenesaw Landis. One year he was honored by the New York Yankees and spent a game in the dugout with Babe Ruth. He actively promoted baseball in Cheyenne from the day he arrived in 1901 and the Cheyenne radio men who “rebroadcast” games called the judge their behind-the-scenes “color” man. Practically every year during the time the World Series was played, Judge Kennedy was in New York City holding court. In 1947, he wrote in his memoirs, he saw 21 games in 21 days by going to night games and double and triple-headers on weekends.

In 1951, in appreciation of the judge’s 30 years of service on the bench, the Wyoming State Bar presented a large oil portrait of Judge Kennedy to be hung in the Federal Courthouse in Cheyenne.

In 1955 he retired after having helped to select his own replacement. His last case before retirement was a complex oil industry trademark dispute. Judge Kennedy was 81 years old when he stepped down. “I was born in 1874, the same year as former President Herbert Hoover and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. I’m a few months older than both and I

see they’re both retired, so I should, too. I’m going to get out before these young lawyers start saying, ‘the old man isn’t as sharp as he used to be.’ ”

When Judge Kennedy retired, he was the senior acting judge in the federal courts, as his predecessor, Judge Riner, had been. Judge Kennedy continued to serve as long as his health was good. After a prolonged illness, he died in a Cheyenne hospital in May, 1957, at the age of 83.⁴⁷

Ewing T. Kerr

On November 7, 1955, Ewing T. Kerr, appointed by President Eisenhower, was sworn in as Wyoming’s third federal judge since statehood.

Ewing T. Kerr was born in Bowie, Texas, in 1900, the youngest of four children. His parents had come to Texas as children, his father’s family from Pennsylvania, and his mother’s family from Tennessee. Kerr’s father was a rancher and in the cattle-raising business with his brother. When Kerr was a year old, his father moved the family and the ranch business across the river to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Kerr’s father was appointed local postmaster for the duration of President Theodore Roosevelt’s term. Kerr remarked, “It was said that the reason he got the job was that he was the only Republican in the county.”⁴⁸

Kerr’s childhood was a rural one. He admits to indulging in the time honored Southern tradition of watermelon snitching in his youth. He was fond of animals and brought home many stray dogs and cats and, on one occasion, a possum. Kerr attended public schools in Loco, Oklahoma, and graduated from Loco High as valedictorian in 1918.

In 1920 Kerr’s father was appointed Superintendent of the Platt National Park in Sulphur, Oklahoma, by the Secretary of the Interior. The park is the site of hot sulphur springs which were often used for their curative effects on the body. Kerr’s father held the position as superintendent until his death.

Kerr decided on teaching as a career with a college professorship as his ultimate goal. He attended Central State College in Oklahoma for three years and then transferred to the University of Oklahoma where he received an A. B. in 1923. That same year he returned to Central State College and completed the work required to be awarded a B. S. degree. While in college he was a member of the debating team and lettered in baseball and wrestling.

After graduation Kerr was employed as principal of the junior high school at Hominy, Oklahoma, from 1923 to 1925. It was during that time that he changed directions and began the study of law. He boarded at the home of Kenneth Lott who had come to Oklahoma only a few years after graduating in law from the University of Kansas, where he had been a part-time instructor. Lott had retained the legal textbooks which he had used. Kerr became interested in reading the books and Lott told him he showed a particular aptitude for legal studies. Lott began to tutor Kerr and over the next two years Kerr read all of Lott’s textbooks and pursued a course of study Lott set out. Lott administered legal exams and also had Kerr assist him in his law office work writing briefs and preparing pleadings. Kerr said he read every text from contracts to torts.

Kerr’s sister who was teaching school in Cheyenne, Wyoming, suggested he join her there. He moved to Cheyenne in 1925, one year after the streets of the frontier town were paved. Kerr was employed as principal of Corlett Grade School, named



PHOTO COURTESY OF JUDGE KERR

Judge Ewing T. Kerr

in honor of W. W. Corlett, pre-territorial lawyer. During this time he pursued a masters degree in political science and history at the University of Colorado while continuing his legal studies. At the time, one could qualify to take the bar exam after two years of supervised study and one year of unsupervised study. Kerr was admitted to practice law in Wyoming on January 25, 1927.

From the time he arrived in Cheyenne he took part in community affairs. He was active in the Chamber of Commerce, Red Cross, Salvation Army, fraternal groups, his church, and Republican politics. He helped finance and construct the first concrete tennis court in Cheyenne, a sport he particularly liked.

Kerr particularly enjoyed politics. He became active in the Republican party almost as soon as he arrived in Wyoming. He enjoyed campaigning, writing and giving speeches on behalf of various candidates. The first campaign he took part in was in 1926 and throughout the following years he traveled throughout the state on behalf of the Republican party.

Judge Kerr points to one of his early speaking engagements as the beginning that led him to the federal bench. In 1928, Kerr was asked to introduce several county and state candidates in Pine Bluffs, a small ranching community east of Cheyenne. Sen. F. E. Warren was in attendance and was to be introduced to the crowd by a "big shot" politician who failed to appear. The sponsors asked Kerr to take over the introduction of Warren. Warren was by this time a legend in Wyoming and Kerr was nervous at the unexpected honor of introducing the senator.

Shortly after this incident, a vacancy came up in the U.S. Attorney's office for an Assistant U.S. Attorney. Warren called A. D. Walton, the U.S. Attorney, to discuss the appointment and suggested that he consider that "young fellow who introduced me out in Pine Bluffs." Walton wasn't sure who had

introduced the senator and checked with Kerr to see if he had been the one. Upon confirming that fact, Kerr was asked to become the Assistant U.S. Attorney.

Kerr held the position until 1933 when the Democrats came into office. During the latter part of his time as Assistant U.S. Attorney, he handled the infamous "Casper conspiracy" case. This was another in the series of city-wide violations of the prohibition act in the state. The mayor, chief of police, sheriff, and 34 other Casper citizens were indicted and tried on conspiracy charges. The officials were charged with conspiring to give a monopoly to two large illegal distilleries, for which they were paid over \$360,000. The officials had even gone to the extent of setting up a bootleggers' warning system. They equipped the courthouse roof with two lights: a red light was used when the "feds" were in Casper and a green light was flashed when deliveries could be made.

A case of this nature had its unsavory moments. One of the government's witnesses was released from jail at four a.m. in an effort to keep him from testifying. Several hours later he was found dead with his liver lying beside his body. The government's star witness, the bookkeeper, was also slated for execution. An "underworld character from Chicago" was sent to Cheyenne to accomplish the job. He was discovered and left town without completing his contract.

In his remarks to the jury, Kerr asserted, "that something more than the prohibition law is involved. The issue of men in public office who betrayed every trust the citizens of Casper imposed in them is involved in this case." The jury was sequestered for a week, the first ballot was 11-1 for conviction but by the end of the week the jury had reversed itself and acquitted the accused. The officials were nevertheless disgraced and never again held public office in Wyoming.

In 1933, Kerr was married to Irene Peterson, a licensed pharmacist who had owned and operated a drugstore in Glendo. For the next five years, Kerr engaged in the private practice of law as a sole practitioner. He had a general practice and handled a variety of cases. Kerr also kept up his Republican activities during the "long, lean years of the 1930s."

In 1938 the Republican Party returned to power in Wyoming. Nels H. Smith was elected governor and he appointed Kerr his attorney general. At that time, Kerr was the youngest man ever appointed to that office. Kerr wrote most of Smith's speeches and it was widely reported that the governor didn't make a move without consulting his attorney general. A Wyoming newspaper reported, "Kerr is recognized as an able lawyer and a keen student of the law. His work 'behind the scenes' for the administration has been outstanding . . . and he admittedly is the 'key man' of the new regime."

Upon accepting the appointment as attorney general, Kerr was immediately thrown into one of the most complex cases handled by that office, the North Platte River suit. The case involved a dispute over water rights between the states of Colorado, Wyoming and Nebraska. Eventually, the Federal Government asserted its own claim. The case had begun in 1935 and, by the time Kerr became involved in 1938, only Nebraska had presented its evidence.

Kerr reduced Wyoming's special counsel from two to one and appointed W. J. Wehrli, a prominent Casper lawyer, as special counsel. Kerr gave what time he could afford to this

litigation, but delegated most of the responsibility to Wehrli. A final decision was rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1944, changing the ownership of one small ditch in Wyoming. In Kerr's words, the decision had very little effect. "We were right back where we started from."

In August, 1939, Attorney General Kerr fulfilled Governor Smith's pledge by declaring that a gasoline trust existed in the state. He sent a telegram to Roosevelt's "trustbuster," Thurman W. Arnold, asking his help in breaking the trust. Kerr noted that gas stations in every town in Wyoming charged exactly the same price. Gas refined in Wyoming was selling for a higher price in the state than in the neighboring states. Kerr said, "Gasoline companies have been guilty of unfair discrimination in prices charged the motoring public" and "the major oil companies have not only set the price but have contacted independent dealers with a view to getting them to raise their prices on all occasions when the major companies advance their retail prices." Arnold sent the FBI to investigate these charges and Kerr summoned representatives of four major oil companies to appear and answer accusations of price fixing and violation of Wyoming's unfair competition laws. The company representatives denied these charges and warned Kerr that enforcement of these acts would force "the companies to the wall." In the end, gasoline prices were reduced an average of three cents a gallon between 1939-1941. With the arrival of World War II, the argument over the price of gas became moot when rationing went into effect.⁴⁹

As early as 1940 and 1942 there was talk of a Kerr candidacy for the United States Senate. His work as attorney general had brought approval from even a Democratic paper whose editor wrote: "In the Smith administration, (Kerr) is the only one who seems disposed to get out and get things done. . . . Kerr is one of the hardest working Attorney Generals (sic) Wyoming has ever had." Judge Kerr said that although he thoroughly enjoyed his political work, he never had a desire to serve as an elected leader.

Kerr continued to serve as Wyoming's Attorney General until 1943 when he entered the United States Army. He was assigned to a position in the Allied military government and arrived in North Africa some three months later. He established and supervised the civilian courts for southern Italy and served as President of the Allied General Court. In addition, he was the reviewing officer of superior court cases tried in liberated Italy. In 1945 he was promoted to the rank of major and assigned to Austria to re-establish the courts in Innsbruck, Salzburg, and Linz. Kerr has remarked that the judicial systems in both Italy and Austria excelled the American system, in that they "expedite justice and yet reach just conclusions."

Kerr returned to Wyoming in 1946 and to the private practice of law. The same year he was selected to serve as the Chairman of the Republican State Committee, a position he held until 1954, which is still the record length of service for that position. He continued running campaigns, making speeches, and bringing national figures to Wyoming, including Sen. Robert Taft, Sen. Everett Dirksen, Admiral Byrd, Governor and later Chief Justice Warren, Admiral Nimitz and Presidential candidates Dewey and Eisenhower.

In 1954 the party urged Kerr to run for the Senate. Kerr did not really want elective office and felt that U.S. Rep. William Henry Harrison would be the better vote-getter in a

race against the incumbent Democrat. Rep. Harrison assured Kerr on several occasions that he would not run for the Senate. Kerr was convinced that it was the desire of the Republican party that he should announce his candidacy for the Senate seat, which he did. Rep. Harrison later changed his mind, entered the race and defeated Kerr in the primary only to be defeated in the general election by Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney.

In 1955 Judge T. Blake Kennedy said he wanted to retire. With the encouragement of Judge Kennedy and the sponsorship of Sen. Frank A. Barrett, Ewing T. Kerr became Wyoming's third federal judge.

The Wyoming Supreme Court, composed of William A. Riner (nephew of the first federal judge in Wyoming, Judge J. A. Riner), Fred Blume and Harry Harnsburger signed a letter to Sen. Barrett commending Kerr as a "good and qualified lawyer, with unquestioned integrity. . . . His appointment to this important position would be very gratifying to each of us." Many other letters were sent to Sen. Barrett mentioning Kerr's experience and the self-sacrifice he had displayed in his many years of service to the Republican party. One writer noted that he had "carried the torch of Republicanism through the years when such action, if not subversive, was a rank heresy in the opinion of so many."⁵⁰

Kerr was sworn in as the third Federal District Judge for the District of Wyoming on November 7, 1955, before an audience of 500 lawyers, state and federal officials, family and friends. Judge Kennedy presided over the ceremonies with the assistance of United States Circuit Judge John C. Pickett. Once again J. A. Riner's Bible was used in the administration of the oath of office.

Judge Kerr's first official act was to announce that Judge Kennedy would continue to serve the federal judiciary, which he did for two years. Judge Kerr was the beneficiary of Judge Kennedy's experienced advice. One piece of advice the senior judge gave him was to remain active in community affairs as it would make him a better judge. Judge Kerr followed Judge Kennedy's advice rather than modeling himself on the conduct of Wyoming's first federal judge. He said he has never regretted that decision.

Having sat on the bench for 25 years, Judge Kerr has tried a variety of cases. The number and types of cases have changed with the climate of the country and Wyoming in particular. When Judge Kerr began his tenure as a federal district judge, Wyoming was in an economic depression and the country had yet to experience the explosion of litigation that began in the late 1960s. Presently, Wyoming is riding an economic boom as a result of the energy crisis and the state's vast reserves of coal and other minerals. Wyoming shares in the increased amount of litigation found in the nation as a whole, as well as litigation directly attributable to the energy growth in the state. The cases handled by the court in the 1950s were traditional legal disputes that had been handled by courts in the past. In the 1960s was the advent of civil rights cases and increased review of administrative agencies. Civil rights cases, administrative law questions, mineral and environmental cases, comprise the bulk of the cases for the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s.

One case handled by Judge Kerr in the 1950s concerned a trial of a swindler, Silas M. Newton, who claimed to have invented a "doodlebug" that could find oil. The gadget turned

out to be a \$2 war surplus electronic device. Mr. Newton had once lectured a University of Denver class on his "discovery" of a wrecked space ship complete with the bodies of "little old men," and had tried to pass off a piece of an aluminium pot as part of the spaceship.

The Cold War made appearance in Judge Kerr's court when the judge administered the oath of citizenship to a Polish Air Force pilot who had flown his plane to safety in the mid-50s. The judge also heard many eminent domain cases in the early 1960s as the government acquired land around Cheyenne, Wyoming, for installation of part of the nation's Minuteman missile system.

After the *Chessman* decision on the rights of prisoners, a surge of cases began in the 1960s. Also in the 1960s, Wyoming courts experienced a 60 percent increase in civil case filings. The *Baker v. Carr* decision of 1962 requirements and the dictates of the Wyoming Constitution required reapportionment every ten years and in 1963 Judge Kerr sat on the three-judge court which drew up the plan for Wyoming.⁵¹

Like his predecessors, Judge Kerr has continued the Wyoming practice of assisting other districts in handling their case loads. In 1962 the judge heard the securities violation case in Denver of the fallen financial wizard Allen Lefferdink. During the lengthy trial, Judge Kerr, as was his practice, ordered the court to put in an extra half-hour each day in an effort to move the case along. Throughout his years on the bench he has continued to travel, holding court in all the states of the Tenth Circuit and in places as distant as Louisiana, California, New York and Puerto Rico. In 1961 he addressed the Federal Judge Seminar held for the benefit of newly appointed federal judges, giving a series of talks on typical situations the new judges would face.

In 1967 Judge Kerr handled one of the longest and more complicated cases of his tenure. The lawsuit involved a corporate merger of Utah Construction and Mining Corporation and Lucky Mc Uranium. The controversy centered around the world's largest open pit uranium mine complex and a stock transaction of over \$14 million.

Aspects of Wyoming's frontier past persist. The federal court continues to have jurisdiction over the Indians in the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming and Yellowstone National Park. In 1968 Judge Kerr awarded a woman \$35,000 for the death of her husband in Yellowstone National Park. The man was killed when a 300-year-old tree fell on him as he was setting up his tent in the park. Another suit in the 1970s concerned a young boy who had fallen into an area of thermal activity in the Park when he strayed from the walkway. Indian law cases have remained basically the same since statehood. They frequently involve assaults resulting from drinking or unlawful businesses or transactions by outsiders on the reservation. Land disputes between Indians and their White neighbors have also provided litigation over the years.

Probably the most widely publicized case of his tenure was the "Black Fourteen" case in 1970. Fourteen black football players on the University of Wyoming team sought to protest the Mormon Church's policy of denying the priesthood to blacks. When they followed the practice of black players on other teams by announcing that they would wear black arm-bands in the game against Brigham Young University, they were dismissed from the team. The university administration

and trustees sustained the coach's action.

The players filed suit seeking \$1.1 million in damages. Judge Kerr dismissed the suit and the Tenth Circuit affirmed his ruling.⁵²

In general, the 1970s and the present decade are characterized by the increased amount of environmental litigation that comes before the federal court. Wyoming is a largely untouched area of wide open space, much of it owned by the federal government as national parks, recreation areas, national forests, wilderness areas, animal refuge areas and Bureau of Land Management land. The state also sustains significant agricultural and stock raising enterprises. Inevitably, conflicts between the federal government, environmental groups, ranchers and energy companies have arisen and ended up in the federal court.

In 1971 Judge Kerr heard the famous eagle slaying case. Prosecution witnesses related that helicopter pilots would take "sportsmen" up to shoot at eagles in flight above the range. Over 700 eagles were killed as a result of this activity. Eight hunters and one pilot were assessed fines by the courts.

The passage of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) resulted in suits over the necessity of filing environmental impact statements. The use of predator and weed control chemicals also brought litigation to the Wyoming federal court. Government changes in the status of federal land and the use of the power of eminent domain to acquire more government land remain a continuing source of conflict in Wyoming.

Questions over the interpretation of mineral contracts and deeds appear with frequency in the Wyoming federal court. In two recent decisions Judge Kerr has ruled on questions of mineral law. Both cases necessitated a look at early Wyoming history and consideration of what qualifies as a mineral under certain federal acts. One of the cases involved the question of whether a pre-statehood mineral reservation of "all coal and other minerals" included oil and gas. Interestingly, the mineral reservation was connected with the Union Pacific Railroad land grants and the subsequent land sales by the railroad that began the state of Wyoming. Early newspapers and scientific journals were cited for the proposition that even in the 1800s, oil and gas were considered minerals. The second decision ruled on whether gravel was considered a mineral under the Taylor Grazing Act, another act that was crucial to the development of the state.

The growth of prisoner rights cases continued in the 1970s. In 1977 Judge Kerr was called upon to rule on the right of prisoners to practice satanism. The prisoners had been denied certain articles including a baphomet, bells, candles, pointing sticks, incense and black robes. After the judge dismissed the case as frivolous, the Tenth Circuit remanded it to the district court to determine whether satanism was a religion protected under the First Amendment. In the meantime, the prisoner converted to Christianity.

The inflation and growth of government in the 1970s and 1980s have brought a new litigant before the federal courts—the tax protesters. For the most part these are citizens who have been convinced by one of several groups or by reading on the subject that they should not have to pay federal income tax. Usually they appear without counsel and offer emotional and imaginative arguments based on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. In 1975 while Judge Kerr was hear-

ing the case of one man, he and the jury were warned that, "you had better believe that God is sitting in judgment on every person in this courtroom and his judgment can be swift." The man had filed a complaint alleging \$550 million in damages and had named the President of the United States, the United States Supreme Court, the Wyoming Supreme Court, all federal judges, the Governor of Wyoming, the American Bar Association and the Wyoming State Bar as defendants. He charged that the defendants had conspired to enact the income tax laws and that the bar associations were "altruistic societies, socialists, collectivists and communists." The suit was dismissed as harassment by Judge Kerr.

In January, 1975, Judge Kerr took senior status in an effort to get a second federal judge for Wyoming and to be relieved of certain of the administrative duties federal judges must handle. At that time, Wyoming was the only federal judicial district with only one judge.

In taking senior status, Judge Kerr has not retired. He continues to put in a full day, handling approximately 50 percent of all cases on the Wyoming federal docket, and maintaining a current docket. He also continues his work in other districts.

The judge maintains his many outside interests, including participation in several community and fraternal groups where, upon occasion, he delivers speeches. Other interests include reading history, keeping abreast of current affairs, college football (especially Oklahoma and the University of Wyoming), professional baseball (in particular the Chicago Cubs), walking and gardening. Judge Kerr's continued good health and active mind can in part be attributed to the fact that he and his wife have for the last ten years been responsible for rearing their two young granddaughters. A visit to the Kerr household necessitates watching out for assorted bikes, skateboards, roller-skates, tennis racquets, and other youthful equipment.

Judge Kerr enjoys continued mental and physical health and has no immediate plans for full retirement. His enjoyment of hard work and his love of the law indicate that he may yet reach the length of service put in by his two predecessors.

Clarence A. Brimmer, Jr.

On September 26, 1975, eight months after Judge Kerr took senior status, Clarence A. Brimmer, Jr., was sworn in, using John Riner's Bible, as Wyoming's fourth federal judge.⁵²

His father, C. A. Brimmer, was born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on January 15, 1890. The family had lived in Massachusetts and upper New York state since the 17th century. C. A. Brimmer was a direct descendant of the first president of Harvard College. Upon graduation from the University of Michigan in 1913, he joined his brother, George E. Brimmer, in the practice of law in Rawlins where they formed the law firm of Brimmer and Brimmer. He married Geraldine E. Zingsheim in 1920. Her grandmother and grandfather had come to Rawlins from the town of Graack in the Moselle River Valley of Germany in 1872, four years after the Union Pacific Railroad had established Rawlins as one of its division points. Her grandfather died of tick fever shortly after arrival and her grandmother eventually remarried and lived on a small pioneer homestead several miles south of Rawlins. Geraldine's father was employed by the Union Pacific Railroad in its freight office. A local history buff, he was acquainted with Butch Cassidy, who is said to have loafed on the freight platform in the early days.

C. A. Brimmer practiced law in Rawlins in partnership with his son, C. A. Brimmer, Jr., until his death in 1963. Geraldine Brimmer died in 1955. C. A. Brimmer, Jr., was the oldest of the three children. Dorothy Brimmer Swanson, his sister, still lives in the family home in Rawlins. William George Brimmer, his brother, is on the faculty of Casper College in Casper, Wyoming.

Brimmer was born in Rawlins in 1922 and educated in the Rawlins public schools. He graduated from Rawlins high school in 1940 after having been a member of the high school debate team that won the Wyoming State Debate Tournament for three consecutive years. During his college years at the University of Michigan, he was a night editor, city editor, and editorial director of the *Michigan Daily*. Brimmer was also a member of the Sigma Phi Epsilon and Phi Delta Phi fraternities. He received his B. A. in 1944 and J. D. in 1947, both from the University of Michigan.

Brimmer was a member of the United States Army Air Corps during 1945 and 1946. He was trained as a cryptographer but spent the majority of his time as a sergeant-major at the headquarters unit of the Army Corps at Fort Totten, New York. Upon discharge from the Air Force, Brimmer returned to Michigan Law School.

After graduation Brimmer returned to Rawlins to practice in his father's law firm. He was admitted to the Wyoming State Bar in 1948. From 1948 to 1954 he served as municipal judge of Rawlins and from 1963 to 1971 he was a United States Magistrate. Brimmer became Attorney General of the State of Wyoming in 1971 and he continued in that position until 1974 when he was appointed United States Attorney. He held the position of United States Attorney until his appointment to the federal bench.

The law practice in Rawlins consisted mainly of ranch and water law, insurance defense trial work, mineral resource law and probate work. During his years in private practice, Brimmer developed a special interest in mineral law. He served as a member of the National Advisory Board, Bureau of Land Management, from 1969 to 1971 and as a trustee of the Rocky Mountain Mineral Law Foundation for several years. On the state and local level, Brimmer served on the Governor's Commission on Wyoming Water from 1963 to 1965 and was secretary of the Rawlins Board of Public Utilities from 1954 to 1966. He has also authored several articles on mineral law.

In addition to his law practice, Brimmer was active in community affairs serving as President of the Lions Club, Exalted Ruler of Elks, Master of the Rawlins Lodge No. 5, A. F. & A. M., and Potentate of the Korein Temple.

As a federal judge Brimmer has served as president of the District Judges Association for the Tenth Circuit and is presently on the executive committee of the National Conference of Federal Trial Judges.

Like all his predecessors, Judge Brimmer is an active Republican. After serving as Republican Party County Chairman, State Committeeman, and delegate to the Republican National Convention, he served as State Party Chairman from 1967 to 1971. In 1971 Brimmer succeeded James E. Barrett, presently a judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit, as Attorney General. He served in this position until 1974 when he was a Republican candidate for Governor of Wyoming. After his defeat in the gubernatorial race, he was appointed United States Attorney for Wyoming by

President Ford in January, 1975. He served only a few months before being appointed to the federal bench.

Judge Brimmer is married to the former Emily O. Docken. They have four children, Geraldine Ann, Philip Andrew, Andrew Howard and Elizabeth Ann.

It is too soon to offer any historical assessment of Judge Brimmer's imprint on the federal bench of Wyoming. It can be fairly stated, however, that he sits on the bench during the most crucial period for Wyoming since statehood. The rapid population growth and the economic impact of the state's exploding energy development offer more than enough challenge to a federal judge.

1. Biographical information on Riner is from the John A. Riner file, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department collections and from a similar file in the American Heritage Center collections, University of Wyoming.
2. Louise S. Smith, Official Report of the Proceedings and Debate of the First Constitutional Convention of the State of Wyoming, (Cheyenne: privately printed, 1889).
3. Riner letterbook, American Heritage Center collections, University of Wyoming. By 1908 Riner's yearly salary had increased to \$6,000, paid monthly.
4. Harriet Knight Orr, "Pioneer Culture: When Wyoming Was Young," *Annals of Wyoming*, January, 1954, p. 36.
5. *Wyoming State Tribune*, January 27, 1952.
6. T. Blake Kennedy, unpublished memoirs, American Heritage Center collections, University of Wyoming.
7. "Memorial Address," Newspaper Clippings File, University of Wyoming Library. Riner was married and the father of four children.
8. Riner letterbook, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
9. Interview with J. A. Riner, September, 1980.
10. 70 F. 598 (1895).
11. *Midwest Oil Co. v. U.S.*, 206 F. 141, 143 (1913).
12. Kennedy memoirs.
13. "Memorial Service," Wyoming Consistory No. 1, Masonic Order, April 13, 1923. Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department collections.
14. Biographical information on Kennedy is from the Kennedy file, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department collections and from a similar file in the American Heritage Center collections, University of Wyoming.
15. Kennedy scrapbooks, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department collections.
16. Kennedy memoirs.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Kennedy scrapbooks.
19. *Ibid.*
20. "Trial Transcripts—State v. Tom Horn," Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department collections.
21. Kennedy memoirs.
22. *Denver Post*, January 9, 1955.
23. Kennedy memoirs.
24. One of the best eyewitness accounts of the hanging is by John

- Charles Thompson, *Wyoming State Tribune*, July 22-25, 1958, p. 4D.
25. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), pp. 320-321.
 26. *Wyoming State Tribune and State Leader*, October 26, 1921.
 27. Kennedy memoirs.
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. The decision in the case was unreported.
 30. Examples include cases like: *U.S. v. Blich*, 45 F.2d 627 (1931); *U.S. v. 76 Five-Gallon Kegs*, 43 F.2d 207 (1930).
 31. The decision in the case was unreported in the law reporters.
 32. *Thermopolis Independent-Record*, May 30, 1930, p. 1.
 33. *Green River Star*, May 23, 1930, p. 1; July 4, 1930, p. 1. See also *Mercante v. U.S.*, 49 F.2d 156 (1931).
 34. *In re Salem Co-Operative Window Glass Co.*, 40 F.2d 298 (1930); and *Teeters v. Henton*, 43 F.2d 175 (1930), are typical of the types of cases he heard. The latter involved an Indian lands question, still common on Wyoming district court dockets.
 35. Kennedy memoirs.
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. Numerous articles give in-depth examination to the legal questions in the Teapot Dome case. A recent article is: Paul H. Giddens, "The Naval Oil Reserve, Teapot Dome and the Continental Trading Company," *Annals of Wyoming*, Spring, 1981, pp. 14-27.
 38. Burl Noggle, *Teapot Dome: Oil and Politics in the 1920s* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1926), p. 36.
 39. Giddens, p. 24.
 40. *U.S. v. Mammoth Oil Co.*, 5 F.2d 330, 350 (1925).
 41. *Ibid.*
 42. Kennedy collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
 43. Kennedy scrapbooks.
 44. *Denver Post*, September 29, 1926.
 45. Kennedy memoirs.
 46. Kennedy letters, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
 47. Obituary, *Wyoming State Tribune*, May 21, 1957, p. 1.
 48. Much of the information in this section comes from a series of interviews and discussions with Judge Kerr from August, 1978 to March, 1980.
 49. Larson, p. 436.
 50. Barrett Papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
 51. At this writing the 1980 reapportionment was under challenge by the League of Women Voters as to representation for Niobrara County. Judge Kerr is one of the three federal judges assigned to hear the case.
 52. Among the numerous newspaper accounts of the incident and lawsuit are: "Coach Eaton Fires 14 From Grid Team," *Wyoming State Tribune*, Oct. 18, 1969, p. 1; "Court of Appeals to Hear Case," *Wyoming Eagle*, Dec. 2, 1970, p. 4; "Three-Judge Panel Weighs Appeal," *Wyoming State Tribune*, Jan. 4, 1971, p. 1. A recent retrospective on the case is: "A Decade Ago: Dissension, Drama and Decision in Wyoming," by Steve Luhm, *Laramie Boomerang*, Oct. 20, 1979.
 53. The information in this section is from various printed biographies of Judge Brimmer as well as from personal interview.



AMH DEPARTMENT PHOTOGRAPH

After 1904, the library occupied a room on the main floor of Old Main.



AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UW, PHOTOGRAPH

University of Wyoming Library, a room in Old Main, circa 1915.

The Development of the University of Wyoming Libraries and Special Collections

By Emmett D. Chisum

The University of Wyoming was founded in 1886 by a bill passed by the Ninth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming on June 9, 1886.

The bill authorized the construction of a university building "to be erected near the city of Laramie at a cost not exceeding the sum of \$50,000."¹

The bill further provided for the appointment of a board of trustees and prescribed their duties. Included was a provision providing for equal education for both men and women.

According to the *Laramie Boomerang*, on September 1, 1889, Inaugural Day was conducted for the university. The assembly room of the new building was crowded for the occasion. Dr. J. H. Finrock, President of the University Board of Trustees, presided over the gathering. Among the distinguished guests were the presidents of Colorado State University and the University of Colorado and the chancellor of the University of Denver. President Hale of the University of Colorado proudly noted that his son Fred A. Hale of Denver was the architect of the university on the Laramie Plains.

Finrock turned the management of the university over to its future head, President J. W. Hoyt, who delivered the inaugural address.²

On September 6, 1887, the university was opened to enroll students. There were two main departments, preparatory and collegiate. In addition to these main divisions, instruction was offered in the following special schools: Normal School, School of Mines, School of Commerce, and School of Agriculture. The first faculty consisted of seven members.³

The first library of the university consisted of books given by Charles Clay, a resident of Laramie. The Clay Library had some 300 books. The list included dictionaries, encyclopedias, and a set of Universal Histories dated 1775 and said to be owned by Henry Clay and loaned by him to President Jefferson. The university made few acquisitions the first year as there was only \$25 in the library fund.⁴

Dr. Aven Nelson was appointed the first librarian in 1887 and he served until 1889 when Justus F. Soule, professor of Latin, became librarian. The Dewey Decimal System came into use and most purchases were in the sciences, as the university administration wanted to be regarded as the "Leader In Science For the Western States."⁵

By 1897 some 5,318 bound volumes had been added to the library and the board of trustees of the university in June of that year made an appropriation of \$1,400 for reference books for the library. After being catalogued, they were placed by subject areas in the laboratories and classrooms of the university. The books for general use were shelved in the library.⁶

Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, pioneer Wyoming historian, became librarian in 1894. In the same year, a number of government documents had been added to the collection.⁷

By 1904, the university library had been moved to the main floor of the building. By this time the book collection had increased to 17,000 books. The rooms were quite crowded in spite of the method of expanding departmental libraries.

The following account gives some idea of the atmosphere of the library in 1904:

The Dewey Decimal System is used for the card catalogue. In addition to this, an author's catalogue has just been completed and a subject catalogue commenced. Each book, and each shelf, is open to the students. Since the inauguration of the open shelf system, by which the student may personally select books, a more extended use of the books has been noticed. If a student has only a few moments to 'browse' in the Library, he is much more inclined to go to the shelves and take a volume and enjoy himself than if he were obliged to have others wait upon him. Books will, however, mysteriously disappear and they as mysteriously return. One book, 'How to Get Strong,' was gone three years, when it suddenly appeared, no one knows when or how, but the presumption is that it accomplished its purpose without assistance.

One shelf in the Library is labelled, 'Books We Ought to Read,' and each month a new set of books is selected and placed there for ready and easy reference. The selection is usually made in reference to topics of the day and subjects of general immediate interest. At present Russia, Japan and Korea are in evidence, while books on Colombia, the Panama Canal and Foreign Affairs have been shelved.⁸

In 1911, the university board of trustees, due to a need for more buildings, proposed the sale of bonds in order to raise \$300,000 for the construction of new buildings. Included on the list of projected buildings was a combination administration building, library and auditorium. This proposal for construction was turned down by the state government.⁹

Even with the failure to obtain a new library in 1911, Hebard, the librarian, was still planning on the submis-

sion of a new proposal to the board of trustees, as indicated by the following letter to William Dubois, Cheyenne architect:

Dr. Dunnaway has advised me that next December at least tentative plans will be presented to the board of trustees relative to the proposed library which we have been promised four years from now. He has advised me he would be glad if I would assist in the plans and specifications stating to you what I felt would be some of the salient points in the erection of the University library. Of course you understand that a University library would be constructed on somewhat different plans than those of a state or county library. I would be very glad to advise with you, and may we not confer before you have gone as far as to work that you and the board have a different set idea that would be hard to change, and yet not meet the local conditions here at the University.

I believe that the first and foremost provision should be for a large vault in the basement at least in which could be stored many books, manuscripts and rare monographs, which are always impossible. We also need a large basement space in which we can put innumerable stacks for government publications.

I do not enter into this with any sort of dictation, I am sure that you will understand, but my 25 years of experience with material which the University has and expects to have, in some slight degree qualified me for the necessities in a new library, although I am woefully ignorant as to how these may be possibly brought about.

Respectfully,
Grace Raymond Hebard
Librarian¹⁰

In 1917, the year of U. S. entry into World War I, the library collections consisted of over 39,000 volumes. The agriculture library, housed in Agricultural Hall, was separate from the regular library. The library subscribed to 200 scientific and general periodicals at this time.¹¹

Following World War I, there was an apparent need for a library building on the campus. The enrollment of the university had increased and the library was limited in seating space for students. President Aven Nelson in 1921 made a special request for an appropriation for \$200,000 to be used in the construction of a library building. The members of the legislature were reluctant to grant funds for the construction of a building "just for storing books." The bill became buried in a committee and Nelson decided to enlist the aid of the students to lobby for the bill in Cheyenne.¹²

The legislative session of 1921 was marked by the attempts of the Senate to limit the appropriations of the state to the university. Representative Richard C. May, Republican of Big Horn County, was chairman of the House committee that visited the campus in January, 1921. Representative May reported to the House that "deplorable conditions exist at the university." He said that in the library where students study, they were forced to stand up while studying and hold their hats and coats in their hands.¹³

On February 11, Nelson booked a special train to take the student body to Cheyenne. The student body arrived in Cheyenne about 10:30 a.m., disembarked and formed

a procession on Capitol Avenue with the university band leading the group. Behind the band were the vocational training students and all wounded veterans of the war. The cadets were first in the line of march followed by the student body.

Down Capitol Avenue the students marched until they reached the Capitol Building. They entered the House Chambers where the Senate and House had gathered. The students then staged such a demonstration as had never before been seen in Cheyenne.

The students gave out several college yells and the famous "Ride em' Cowboys" echoed through the halls of the assembly. The legislators managed to get in the spirit of the occasion by constant applause, with brief pauses to allow the students to speak.

Gov. Robert D. Carey gave a brief address in which he expressed his desire to see the university prosper. Sen. Stephen H. Sibley, Republican of Laramie County, and Representative May both spoke in favor of the university securing ample funds for buildings.

Milward Simpson, a student from Cody, expressed his thanks to the legislature for providing a means for existence. He later became Governor of Wyoming and a U.S. Senator. Miss Corrine Molling of Pinedale provided the humorous note of the day with the statement that "women's dormitories were so crowded that often times we powder someone else's nose instead of our own."¹⁴

Mrs. Olga Moore, widow of the late C. F. Arnold, a Dean of the Law School at the university, in her book, *I'll Meet You In The Lobby*, gave quite a different version of the affair than the *Laramie Boomerang* rendered. According to her version, the event was "an expression of women power in Wyoming." The coeds marched down the muddy streets of Capitol Avenue, and when they arrived at the Capitol Building, Gov. Carey advised them that he and all of the members of the legislature were "unmarried." The coeds talked to the members of the legislature and expressed the need for a library. Later they were invited to the Plains Hotel for dinner with the members of the legislature.¹⁵ The lawmakers approved the appropriation for a new library.

In 1922, Nelson retired from the presidency of the University of Wyoming and in his final report said he was pleased with the construction of the new library which would now give security to the collection of books, and would also serve to provide some classroom facilities to serve a student body of 600 students.¹⁶

In 1923, the new library was opened with a book collection of 50,000 volumes and with over 400 periodicals being received. The new library also contained the College of Law and the Law Library on the third floor. In addition to the College of Law, the library provided quarters for the Departments of History, English, Latin and Greek.¹⁷

The new library was dedicated the following year, March 14, 1924, with Judge V. J. Tidball of Laramie giv-

University Library – 1923 to 1958



AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UW, PHOTOGRAPHS

The library reading room (top) in the “new” university library was outgrown by the 1930s. The building (below) is now occupied by offices and the Botany Department. It is named for first librarian and former university president Dr. Aven Nelson.

WYOMING UNI. TO BE MOVED TO CHEYENNE

ENTIRE STUDENT BODY TO
THANK LEGISLATORS IN
PERSON AT CHEYENNE

Following out the wishes of some of the members of the sixteenth legislature, the University will be moved to Cheyenne; bodily and collectively—but only for a day. Because after next Friday, Wyoming University will still be in Laramie, perched on the top of the world, truly an institution of higher learning. But on Friday, the eleventh, the University goes to Cheyenne to entertain the legislature.

The trip is the outgrowth of a number of things, when the University appropriations were first being discussed, the proposal was made that the entire Student Body go to Cheyenne to lay before the Legislature the needs of the institution and solicit aid. However, it was felt by many that this scheme was both impracticable and little came of it, except that the special train requested was granted. So the matter of a trip to Cheyenne rested. Everybody laid low and waited and finally the present scheme broke with amazing suddenness. In fact it came into actual being so sudden that everyone was quite amazed.

LEGISLATURE "RAZZES" UNIVERSITY TOWN

EVILS OF LARAMIE HEATEDLY
DISCUSSED IN LEGISLATIVE
RAG-CHewing

Legislatures are noted for their hot debates and arguments, and the one now in session is ably following established precedents in this regard. The time is flying by rapidly, scores of bills are up for consideration, and the debating progresses fiercely and without intermission.

In the midst of all this discussion of road appropriations, the making of new counties, legislation in regard to prohibition and in regard to boxing laws, etc., all of which interests us indirectly, the University comes in for its share of consideration, and it is in this part of the legislation that our chief interest lies.

In fact, the University has been the subject for no little heated argumentation and excitement. It became notorious in legislative circles when Representative M. C. Roberts of Upton described the "wretched conditions" in Laramie and called it "one of the worst towns in the state" and an unfit place for the University. Laramie's cause was championed by Representative Arnold of this city, who hotly defended Laramie and au-

thorizing the appropriation for the construction of the library.

Crane told Gov. William R. Ross that he would not have to speak at the occasion, but at the urging of the crowd, he rose and expressed the opinion that the reading room was "the most beautiful public room" in the state of Wyoming.¹⁸

The first library handbook was published in April, 1924. It gives the arrangement of the building. The main floor of the library was divided into a Bibliography Room, a Reading Room, and Periodical Room, with the remainder of the library section being used for stacks, Debate Room, Hebard Room (used for Wyoming history), Binding Room and classrooms.¹⁹

In an article in the *Library Journal*, Miss Reba Davis, librarian, gave a description of the new library: "The building of classical renaissance architecture is three stories in height thus providing for the front of the large reading room, two stories high which links the two end pavilions, and for a six-tier stack section in the rear. The building covers an area about 80 by 140 feet." She noted that the reading room with its plastered walls, pleasing color scheme, ornamental details and harmonious furnishings, "offered inspiration" for work.²⁰

There was interest by Crane to acquire materials on Wyoming and the development of the West. The following letter was written by Davis to Crane in regard to the collection of Western Americana:

March 30, 1929

President Crane

Campus

My Dear President Crane:

I am pleased to offer you this report on our collection of Western Americana.

Following the sale for \$11,559.00 of the Bishop Thomas Library by the Anderson Galleries in New York, I obtained a copy of the sale catalog, and have it carefully checked with our collection. The sale catalog contains items of various kinds which I have thrown into the classifications which I am noting below, with notes comparing the collection with that of the University of Wyoming collection.

No. 1. - Books and pamphlets on Mormonism

Our library has few of these titles, but it is a very large field except for material pertaining to the Mormon emigration. On that particular phase, I believe that our collection equals the Thomas Collection.

No. 2. - Books and pamphlets on Western Indian Tribes and language

We have comparatively few of these items.

No. 3 - Manuscripts relative to Wyoming or Western history

This consists of not more than twenty pieces of which we have a duplicate of only one.

No. 4 - Western fiction

We have relatively few. Some of these items are interesting because of backgrounds, but are not of value for historical research.

No. 5 - Collections of pamphlets and books relative to Wyoming or Western history

It is difficult to determine the value or the content of these as they were listed and sold by lots of ten to a hundred. My impression is that these lots did not contain items

ing the principal address. Nelson, Hebard and Mrs. Katherine Morton, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, also spoke.

Dr. Arthur Crane, the new president of the university, remarked in his speech that Hebard was one of the foremost supporters of the university. It was "therefore fitting that Dr. Hebard should speak on this occasion because she was twice librarian of the school and was in charge of the collection of books belonging to the university for the time from 1891 to the present."

Hebard, in her address, announced that she had now finished 33 years and two weeks of service to the university. She related how the university library had grown from a few stacks of government books in 1891 to the collection of 55,000 volumes. She told how the new library, hoped for as early as 1900, was always put off in favor of some other building, year after year, until the last year of the presidency of Nelson, when the "gorgeous dream" finally came to fulfillment.

Morton, in her speech, pointed out that of all the things that a university should have is a fine library because "the library is the source of knowledge which the university seeks to impart." To Morton the library was an altar "to good fellowship and a temple of wisdom."

After the formal speeches, Crane asked a number of prominent people in the audience to stand, and among these were the library staff and Wilbur Hitchcock, architect of the library, Sen. A. D. Kelley, a member of the territorial legislature which passed the bill authorizing the university as well as a member of the state legislature

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of great value, else they would have been separately listed and annotated as were most of the items.

No. 6 - Federal and Wyoming documents

We have almost all of these items and a great many more. We have recently completed the collecting, binding and cataloging of the reports of the Wyoming territorial and state officials, and our collection of that material, of which we have almost a complete file, constitutes one of the most valuable items in our library, in my estimation.

No. 7 - Books on Wyoming and Western history, listed by authors and titles

The most valuable part of the Thomas collection falls in this classification and we have about two-thirds of the items listed. Many of our books which duplicate those in the Thomas collection have not the market value which he had, because of the fact that he had many first editions, autographed copies, association copies, and beautiful bindings which we have not, but for working copies, our copies serve the purpose quite as well.

No. 8 - Miscellaneous

In this classification is much valuable and desirable material, but it does not fall in the field of Wyoming history. It concerns California, Oregon and Washington.

On the whole, I am very well satisfied with what our checking reveals. I shall ascertain if possible to whom were sold some of the most essential of the items which are lacking in our collection and the price obtained with a view to purchasing them if they are available and within our reach.

Yours respectfully,
Reba Davis, Librarian²¹

At her death in 1936, Hebard willed her most treasured souvenirs and other articles of her collection to the university. On the third floor of the west wing of the library there were two rooms—one room contained non-documentary possessions. A plaque was placed on the door of this room in recognition of her work in compiling and preserving the history of Wyoming. A grand piano stood in the center of this room—supposedly the first piano ever brought into the state of Wyoming. It first belonged to Judge William A. Carter of Fort Bridger and was given by his relatives to Hebard. Near the piano was an old buffalo skull and scratched on its surface was the cryptic message “Advise camping far from the trees on the river.” In the other room was the Hebard collection of materials on Wyoming and the West.²²

The collection provided a small museum for students, faculty and other visitors to the university. Probably this was the beginning of placing collections in rooms and giving each room a donor name.

The problems of the university libraries during many years of trying to serve the university community were best pointed out by a report made to the University Board of Trustees and Faculty by Miss Mary Marks, the librarian in December, 1939. In her report she pointed out that the library book budget had varied in the past years from \$11,000 to a low of \$7,000. “The past several years the book appropriations have been \$8,000 plus \$1,500 which was a special appropriation for the law library. From the general library, \$500 were removed from this budget and given to the law school to bring their special appropria-

tion of \$1,500 up to the \$2,000 required by the law school for accreditation.” Marks was also faced with periodical subscriptions which came to \$2,500. There was also a binding fee of at least \$2,000, so there was little money left for book purchases to divide among 29 departments of the university.²³

Marks also complained of a lack of space in the library. In 1941, enrollment had increased. The library was crowded and understaffed with only six librarians and one stenographer. Nine student workers averaged about 3 ½ hours a day on duty. More room was needed also for the faculty and working space for the librarians. A new library was needed, and there was discussion among trustees, faculty and students about the need for a new building.

The coming of World War II put an end to the construction of a new library building. The university committed its resources to the goal of winning the war.

With the conclusion of World War II and during the administration of President George Duke Humphrey, attention was once again focused on the planning for a new library building. Dr. Richard Hillier of the English Department was appointed chairman of the committee that worked on plans for a new building for some two years and finished with a plan in 1950.²⁴

Hillier and his committee produced a publication with plans for the new building. The building outlined in the report would cost some \$1,432,000, be able to seat some 900 students and provide ample room for the growing collections. The new building would have space for some 450,000 books in the various subject divisions of the library. The board of trustees approved the plans for the new building.²⁵

In the legislative session of 1951, the university requested \$2,267,425.99 for capital outlays with \$1,400,000 for a new library building. But Governor Frank Barrett, in his budget message to the legislature, recommended only \$201,435 for university building purposes and no funds for a new library building.²⁶

William Robertson Coe of New York gave the University of Wyoming library some 700 items which consisted of both books and pamphlets. With this gift to the library, Coe became the first member of the newly formed Wyoming Library Associates, a group of citizens in the various towns of Wyoming who were working to make the library one of the outstanding research centers in the country.²⁷

The Coe Collection of Western Americana was started when Coe purchased a Wyoming ranch from Col. William H. Cody (Buffalo Bill) in 1919 near Cody, Wyoming. Coe had been given an honorary degree from the university in 1948 in absentia. The idea of a western collection came from the Right Reverend Nathaniel S. Thomas, Bishop of Wyoming, who was an early collector of rare books.²⁸

With the death of Coe on March 14, 1956, funds were provided by his estate for the construction of an American Studies Building which was to be incorporated into a

University Library — 1958 to present



AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UW. PHOTOGRAPHS

The Hebard Room (top) is part of the American Heritage Center which occupies the top floors of Coe Library (below).

general library building. Coe had given some \$1,800,000 for the construction of a library with the state of Wyoming agreeing to provide \$750,000 to pay for equipment and furnishings.²⁹

According to Charles H. Bauman, acquisitions librarian, and one of the planners along with Jim Ranz, library director, many of the structural and mechanical features were inspired by the library buildings at Washington State College and the State University of Iowa. After the plans for the library had been formulated, Dr. Ralph Ellsworth was called in as a consultant. Construction started a short time later, in May, 1956, and it was completed in slightly over two years. The firm of Eliot Hitchcock and Clinton Hitchcock were architects on the building. Their father, Wilbur Hitchcock, had designed the first library building of the university.³⁰

The William Robertson Coe Library was constructed on a divisional plan with the collection books grouped into four main divisions—the humanities, social sciences and education, science and technology and U. S. Government documents. The Western History and Archives Division was located on the south section of the third floor. There were a great number of individual study tables arranged on the four floors of the building. The book collection with the opening of the library consisted of some 275,000 volumes with an annual addition of 15,000 volumes. The library at this time was receiving some 1,500 periodicals. The new building contained equipment for the use of photographic materials such as microfilm. Several listening rooms were provided for the use of phonograph records in the library collections.³¹ The books from the old library were moved by truck during the summer of 1958 and the building was opened for use that fall.

The dedication ceremonies were set for October 9, 1958.³² The former library was remodeled and office and classroom space was made available primarily for the Botany Department and the building was named for Aven Nelson. Among the individuals taking part in the dedication ceremonies were President George Duke Humphrey, Dr. Richard Hillier, Chairman of the Library Planning Committee, Clifford P. Hansen, President of the Board of Trustees, Arad Riggs, representing the Coe Foundation, and Dr. Robert Walker, Acting Director of the School of American Studies.

Hansen, later governor and U. S. Senator, said in his speech that "Coe gave the library to Wyoming and established a School of American Studies here so that young people might attain greater knowledge and become better citizens." He expressed his hope that their enthusiasm and zeal for our divinely inspired way of life might help them guide America in leading the world in paths of accomplishment and peace.

Humphrey remarked that the new building marked a plateau in the university's history and indicated that the university had reached maturity as an educational, research, and service institution. The new building also

relieved the crowded condition which the library had had for many years.

Riggs noted that Coe revised his will to give \$1,800,000 to the university for a library and American Studies Building. At the time, Coe was "concerned about the failure of the nation's schools in teaching the American way of life."

Library director Jim Ranz said in his address that "during the past 20 years the academic book resources of the state of Wyoming had increased 150 percent whereas the national average was only 100 percent." He added that "the introduction of new photographic techniques and processes by which parts of books may be easily and quickly reproduced, as well as cooperative ventures among libraries, have placed an increasing importance upon the physical library building."³³

The new library won great acceptance from both faculty and students, with its spacious places for both study and research. A browsing room with a book collection provided by funds from John Bugas of the Ford Motor Company produced favorable reactions among the students. Citizens came from all parts of the state to tour the new facility, especially during the first two years of operation.

By 1966, the William Robertson Coe Library contained some 390,000 volumes, including 4,000 micro-reproductions. Annual additions at this time were 2,200 volumes. Through its membership in the Rocky Mountain Bibliographical Center, the library was able to offer excellent inter-library loan service to both students and faculty.³⁴

With the completion of the George Duke Humphrey Science Center in 1970, the science and technology collections of the Coe Library were removed to the Science Library, which allowed more space for the general library. By 1972, the library collection consisted of over 446,000 volumes, including 77,000 micro-reproductions. Annual additions to the library averaged 25,000 volumes.³⁵

From 1973, there was a concerted effort on the part of the board of trustees, the president and faculty to secure an annex to the William Robertson Coe Library. It was not until 1976 that the Wyoming State Legislature passed a bill authorizing the construction of the annex. The appropriations for the construction and furnishing of this building came to some \$5,200,000. The building was completed during the years 1977-78 and opened during the academic year of 1978. It more than doubled the space. The combined university libraries which formerly could accommodate only 500 readers, could now accommodate over 1,500 readers. The library's catalog collection totaled 600,000 volumes, 135,000 microfilms. Annual additions to the library had reached 30,000 volumes.³⁶

The university libraries, in addition to the William Robertson Coe Library, include the Science and Technology Library; the Geology Library, located in the S. H. Knight Geology Building; and the Film Library, located with the Audio Visual Service in Knight Hall. The

United States Department of Energy - Laramie Energy Technology is a branch of the University Libraries.³⁷

In the years 1976 to 1981, the university libraries had their greatest growth in their history. Planning committees were organized that established certain priorities in various phases of library service. Funds were provided for an expanded collection budget, the employment of more professional librarians and the coordination of library services under a departmental director.

In the spring of 1945, the board of trustees of the university of Wyoming created a new department of archives within the library of the university. This administrative move had been made because of the gift of several important papers which could not be available to students and scholars until the new department was developed.

Types of materials desired in the formative days of the division were correspondence, both business and social, financial records, pamphlets, newspapers, scrapbooks, picture maps—in fact any document relating to Wyoming history. It was the opinion that such records would be useful in tracing the political, social and economic history of Wyoming.

The Hebard files contain correspondence, pamphlets, original documents, clippings, newspapers, a library of Western Americana, and manuscripts relative to Wyoming.

Another large collection available was the Francis E. Warren papers. This collection deals with politics, ranching, and miscellaneous business interests with which he was connected. Items included in this collection are scrapbooks, correspondence, ledgers dealing with his ranching and business interests.

The Wyoming Stock Growers Collection records contain a valuable collection of papers covering the range industry from 1873-1923 with a few materials of a later date.³⁸

These were the large collections in the beginning years of the archives division. Miss Lola M. Homsher was the first archivist of the university library. By 1951, the university archives had a title change: it became the Western History and University Archives Department. The collection had grown to a considerable extent since 1945. There were approximately 30 large collections in the archives and 110 small collections. In the three rooms allocated on the third floor of the library, the lack of space was beginning to be a problem.³⁹

Dean F. Krakel became director of the division in 1952 when Homsher became the first director of the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department. Under the Krakel administration, the papers of Sen. John B. Kendrick, Sen. Lester Hunt, Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney and some 90 other collections were acquired. During this time the photographs collection was organized and a large manuscript collection served both faculty and students.

With the moving of the Archives and Western History to the Coe Library, new quarters were provided for the

division in the south section of the new library.

Krakel resigned in 1956 to accept a position as archivist with the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs. He later was named to head the Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma. Dr. Gene M. Gressley became Director of the Archives and Western History Division in 1956.

In 1958 with somewhat larger quarters in the Coe Library, Gressley organized the collections around certain specific areas such as aviation, business history, transportation history, conservation, contemporary history, Western writers, mining, Wyoming political history, economic geology and reclamation and the division was renamed the American Heritage Center.

During the 25 years that Gressley has served as director the collection has grown from a few hundred items to archival materials that exceed several thousand. In addition to the archives collection there is also a manuscript collection with several thousand items and a collection of some 45,000 photographs organized by biographic and subject entries.

Space has been provided for researchers in the Luman Room which also contains the Alfred Jacob Miller paintings. This collection was obtained through the efforts of Robert C. Warner, professor in the Journalism Department.

Two rare book rooms are open for public use—the Fitzhugh Room and Toppan Room. The Fitzhugh Room contains the first collection of rare books in the American Heritage Division. The Toppan Room located in the new annex contains the latest collection of rare books.

In addition to the Alfred Jacob Miller art in the Luman Room, the Rentschler Room contains a collection of the art of Henry Farney.

The American Heritage Center, like the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, serves as a major research institution in the state.

From a collection of 300 books in 1889, the University of Wyoming libraries contain three-quarters of a million volumes. The recently announced goal is to have a million-volume collection in the next few years. In order for the university to continue its service to Wyoming, its heart—the library—must be strong. Its national stature, too, depends on the adequacy of its library collections. There is no question that the people of the state of Wyoming will again meet this challenge in coming years.

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Custer's "permanent camp" on French Creek in the Black Hills

**Prelude to the
Black Hills Gold Rush
of 1876**



SOUTH DAKOTA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In the decade following the Civil War, the Black Hills of Dakota Territory, centrally located in the Northern Plains, gained the attention of the entire country with news that gold had been discovered there. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 had set aside the *Paha Sapa* as part of the Sioux Indian Reservation. But the Black Hills, virtually barren of whites through 1870, were to become, in less than half a decade, overwhelmed with gold-seekers.

The Black Hills were probably first visited by whites as early as 1742 when, on April 29, Francois and Joseph de la Verendrye left Fort de la Reine, south of Lake Manitoba, in search of a route to the Pacific Ocean. On August 11, they came upon a "Mountain of the Horse Indians," which quite possibly may have been Bear Butte, on the northeastern edge of the Black Hills. On November 9, they headed southwestward, apparently through the Hills.¹ Subsequent journeys through or at least very near the Black Hills were made by Jonathan Carver around 1767²; in 1803 by Jean Valle, a French trader, who met Meriwether Lewis and William Clark near the mouth of the Cheyenne River a year later³; by another French trapper, Baptiste La Page, who was hired by Lewis and Clark in 1804 after spending the winter in the Hills⁴; by Wilson Price Hunt and the Overland Astorians, of the American Fur Company, in 1811⁵; by Jedediah Smith, who was half-scalped by a grizzly bear just before entering the Hills in 1823⁶; by Thomas L. Sarpy, killed when his trading post exploded because he was selling gunpowder by candlelight, in 1832⁷; in 1833 by Ezra Kind and his six companion miners, whose gold findings were later traded to the Hudson's Bay Company for \$18,000 worth of "fire water, beads, and other glittering gewgaws so dear to the hearts of savages" by the Indians who had attacked and killed the party⁸; and in the later 1830s and 1840s by a host of others, including Father Pierre Jean DeSmet, a Jesuit missionary to the Indians, who visited the Hills in 1848.⁹

The "first white woman to enter the Black Hills" is claimed by Annie Tallent, who accompanied the Gordon Expedition of 1874.¹⁰ Although her statement is perhaps true, she is not the only woman to lay claim to such an honor. Sarah Campbell, a cook and "excited prospector" for John Smith of the Custer Expedition of 1874, called herself "the only white woman that ever saw the Black Hills."¹¹ It is true that "Aunt Sally," as the men called her, saw the Hills a few months before Tallent, but what makes her "white woman" claim curious and without doubt inaccurate is the fact that she was black!¹² Perhaps what Campbell intended to say was "non-Indian."

By Scott Tubbs

THE FORT LARAMIE TREATY OF 1868

*"From this day forward all war
between the parties to this
agreement shall forever cease."*

FROM ARTICLE I OF FORT LARAMIE TREATY OF APRIL 29, 1868.

In a policy of benevolence, for whatever reasons, the United States government negotiated a treaty with the Plains tribes in 1868. Treating with the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, the U.S. agreed to close the Bozeman Trail to the Montana gold fields and to evacuate Forts Phil Kearney, C. F. Smith, and Reno. The Sioux were given a reservation consisting of that part of Dakota Territory lying west of the Missouri River (*i.e.*, north of the Nebraska line to the 46th parallel of latitude and west of the Missouri River to the 104th meridian of longitude). In addition, generous annuities were provided for a few years, and education for Indian children and agricultural instruction for the men was promised. In return, the Indians promised not to molest the builders of the Union Pacific Railroad. They also agreed not to bother the wagon trains, and not to scalp white men or capture their women and children.¹³

Significantly, the government agreed, "that no persons except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents, and employees of the government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article."¹⁴

Unfortunately, but perhaps predictably, this treaty's creation of the Great Sioux Reservation did little more than postpone the inevitable occupation of the Black Hills by gold-seeking whites. The insistent and increasing agitation for the exploration of the Hills finally prompted a warning from military and civil authorities, fearful of a general Indian war caused by illegal settlers.¹⁵ On March 30, 1872, Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano informed Governor John A. Burbank of the Dakota Territory that all expeditions must be stopped. Thus, Edwin Stanton McCook, Secretary of Dakota Territory and acting governor, issued a proclamation on April 6 warning that any violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty stipulations was illegal, would disturb the Indians, and would threaten the peace.¹⁶ Further, Major General Winfield Scott Hancock, Commander of the Department of Dakota, with headquarters at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, announced "that any expedition organized for the purpose of penetrating the Black Hills, be immediately dispersed, the leaders arrested and placed in the nearest military prison."¹⁷

The 1868 treaty did not stop Charles Collins, the eccentric, Indian-hating editor of the *Sioux City Weekly Times*, from initiating colonization movements to the Black Hills. He was instrumental in organizing the Black Hills Mining and Exploring Company at Sioux City on February 27, 1872. Publishing highly colored, sensational stories about the prospects for gold, he openly recruited individuals for the express purpose of entering the Hills.¹⁸ He was joined by frontiersman Thomas H. Russell and eminent Sioux City businessmen, including Charles S.

Soule of the Northwest Transportation Company, Dan Scott, editor of the *Sioux City Journal*, and General A. C. Dawes, passenger agent for the Kansas City and St. Joe Railway.¹⁹

Collins estimated that it would cost \$604.60 to outfit a party of five for four months with a 2,000 pound capacity wagon, a span of horses, a tent, flour, bacon, coffee, tea, yeast, salt, beans, soup, matches, cooking utensils, kerosene, lamps, lanterns, blankets, ammunition, lariats, ropes, four gold pans, three picks, two shovels, carpenter's tools, nails, and incidentals.²⁰ General Hancock's order and Acting Governor McCook's proclamation spoiled Collins' plan.²¹ Collins and Russell moved to Chicago, where they set up an office and continued to campaign for takers in a future Black Hills Expedition.

THE CUSTER EXPEDITION

"My husband brought me a keg of the most delicious water from a mountain stream. It was almost my only look at clear water for years, as most of the streams west of the Missouri are muddy."

FROM ELIZABETH B. CUSTER'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF HER HUSBAND'S EXPEDITION IN FORT LINCOLN AFTER SPENDING THE SUMMER IN THE BLACK HILLS.

The increase of illegal gold-seeking traffic into the Black Hills violated not only the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 but also a Sioux inter-tribal pact. The Sioux Nation, in an 1857 meeting at Lake Traverse, agreed that any white man mining gold in the Black Hills should be put to death, along with any Indian who might have directed the prospector to the lode.²² Consequently, raids and massacres, especially by the Teton Sioux, who were slipping down into the Department of the Platte in Nebraska Territory, were increasing.²³

As a result of these increased hostilities, General Philip H. Sheridan, commanding the Military Division of the Missouri, in 1874 suggested to the War Department his solution to the Indian problem: "In order to better control the Indians making these raids, for two or three years it was recommended to establish a large military post in the country known as the Black Hills, so that by holding an interior point in the heart of Indian country the troops could threaten the villages and stock of the Indians if the latter raided the settlements."²⁴ Upon approval, he ordered General Alfred H. Terry of the Dakota Military District to organize an expedition for reconnaissance of the Hills region. Assigned by Terry to command the expedition was Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer. The military orders issued to Custer were explicit—the expedition was to make a general reconnaissance to locate military wagon routes and possible sites for a fort, as the following excerpt from the report of Captain William Ludlow, chief of engineers, Department of Dakota, indicates:

In case, at any future time, complications with the Sioux, or the advancing needs of bordering civilization should make it necessary to establish military posts upon this Indian reservation, indications all pointed to the Black Hills as the



SOUTH DAKOTA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Sporting an astonishing variety of headgear, Custer's officers and the expedition's scientific corps pose during the summer, 1874 expedition

suitable point, both on account of their geographical position and of the abundance of wood, water, and grass to be found there. To explain the value of its position, it should be stated that the trails from the camp of the hostile Sioux on the Yellowstone, to the agencies near the Missouri, where live the reservation Indians and whereon the issues of annuities are made, lead by a southeasterly course through the hills, the abundance of game and ample security of which, make them a ready refuge in time of war, and a noble hunting-ground in time of peace.

It was therefore considered desirable to gain positive information regarding them, and to connect them as well by reconnaissance with the posts of Lincoln and Laramie. To accomplish these results was the object of the expedition.²⁵

Throughout the expedition the Army stood firm on two points: the chief purpose of the expedition was to conduct a much needed reconnaissance, not to prospect for gold; and two, it was not a violation of the Treaty of 1868. Surely, white settlement in the area would violate the treaty, but a simple, peaceful reconnaissance expedition passing *through* the region was another matter. General Terry, in a letter to General Sheridan, remarked:

I am unable to see that any just offense is given to the Indians by the expedition to the Black Hills. . . . From the earliest times the government has exercised the right of sending exploring parties of a military character into unceded territory, and this expedition is nothing more.²⁶

General William T. Sherman, the commanding General of the Army, took the same stand:

I also was one of the commissioners to the Treaty of 1868, and agree with General Terry, that it was not intended to exclude the United States from exploring the Reservation for Roads, or for any other national purpose.²⁷

Custer, as well, insisted upon the legitimacy and peacefulness of the mission. The *St. Paul Pioneer* quoted Custer:

The purposes of the expedition are not military or aggressive. They are peaceable and exclusively in the interest of science. . . . Of the peaceable intentions of the government all the tribes have been notified, and they have been assured that they will not be molested or disturbed in the least degree, provided they do not commence hostilities.²⁸

Custer's sincerity seems to be validated by remarks made after completion of the expedition. He was asked by a *Bismarck Tribune* reporter if he was disappointed at "not

having a brush with the Sioux." To this, Custer nobly replied that he was "disappointed, but heartily glad of it. . . . I congratulate myself and the country on the return of the expedition without bloodshed."²⁹

On July 2, 1874, Custer's Seventh Cavalry left Fort Abraham Lincoln, opposite Bismarck on the Missouri River. It was one of the largest, most complete, and best-equipped peacetime expeditions ever assembled. The over 1,000 men included scientific personnel, newspaper correspondents, miners, and a photographer along with 10 companies of cavalry, two companies of infantry, numerous Indian scouts, interpreters, and a 16-piece mounted band playing "The Girl I Left Behind Me" as the expedition departed Fort Lincoln. There were 100 wagons, each drawn by six mules, ambulances, three Gatling machine guns, and a three-inch Parrott rifle. In addition, a herd of 300 beef cattle was taken along for fresh meat.³⁰

After leaving Fort Lincoln, Custer proceeded southwesterly toward the Hills, passing between Bear Butte on the Belle Fourche River and the Bear Lodge Mountains, where the trail made by the Reynolds Expedition in 1859 was still plainly discernable. The party passed the Inyan Kara Mountain on July 23, which Custer and his staff climbed. The trip across the plains was uneventful and the party entered the Hills along Castle Creek, in the vicinity of Harney Peak. Main camp was set up on French creek about seven miles due south of Harney Peak.³¹ Custer and his staff climbed Harney Peak, ascending nearly to the top, and left there a copper cartridge shell with their names enclosed on a slip of paper.³² While at the top, they sighted two other prominent peaks, which Captain Ludlow named for General Terry and General Custer.³³

Meanwhile, some of the troops organized a baseball game, the first such game ever played in the Black Hills. One team, the Actives of Fort Lincoln, was picked from members of the band and the right wing; the other team, the Athletes of Fort Rice, included men from Companies C, H, and K. The umpire was John Tempany, the "Vetinary Surgeon." According to the diary of Private Theodore Ewert (Company H), it was evident to all spec-

tators that the umpire favored the Fort Lincoln team, but apparently the teams were able to refrain from engaging in any "rhubarbs," as Ewert's diary gives no record of such. The final score was Actives 11, Athletes 6.³⁴

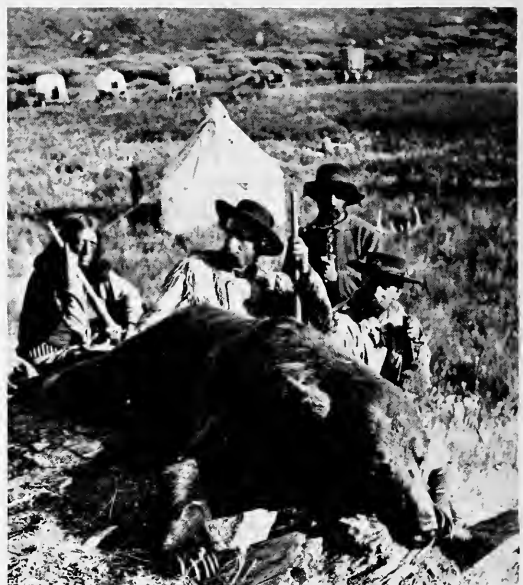
After exploring to the south fork of the Cheyenne River, the expedition began its return trip to Fort Lincoln on August 6, traveling northward along the Box Elder up the center of the Hills past Bear Butte. The expedition, its journey lasting 60 days, never spent more than one day in any one spot, with the one exception being the five days spent at Harney Peak, according to Tallent.³⁵ Calhoun's diary does not agree. He notes at least four two-day camps; those of July 18 and 19 near the present-day city of Belle Fourche, July 22 and 23, near the Inyan Kara Mountain, July 26 and 27 in Castle Valley, and August 14 and 15 near Bear Butte.³⁶

The official expedition reports incorporate notes of several scientists who accompanied the expedition as well as the observations of Custer. They seem to be preoccupied with geological matters and comments on the natural beauty of the region and its great potentialities in terms of timber, mineral wealth, and farming. Such is the case with zoologist George Bird Grinnell, as he wrote of a valley:

... filled with the greatest profusion of wild flowers, in almost incredible numbers and variety. . . . An old and deeply cut lodge-trail ran up the valley, and, halting the command, the valleys leading out of Floral Valley were explored. The trail is said by one of the guides to be the old voyageur pack-trail, and is one of the regular routes between the hostile camp on Tongue River and the agencies. Near the highest point many old camps and abandoned lodge-poles were seen. Pursuing the lodge-trail a spring was reached, the waters of which flowed north and east. The fog, which had been sweeping up from the eastward, became very dense. The flowers were if anything more abundant than in the morning, the hills but 30 or 40 feet in height, covered with pine and aspen, tamarack and spruce. The wood and open seemed to share the country about equally. All vegetation was luxuriant and fresh, and we had no doubt that a portion, at least, of the park country we were in search of had been reached. The valleys radiated in all directions, connecting with each other, and a more beautiful wild country could not be imagined. Signs of bear and deer were abundant and the woods frequently resounded with the clangorous cry of the crane.³⁷

Professor A. B. Donaldson, a botanist, was taken by "the gaudy sunflower and the delicate harebell, the fair lily and the bright blue daisy, the coarse elecampane and the modest violet, the gay lark-spur and the fragrant peppermint, roses and pinks, asters and phlox, bell-flower and caropsis, geraniums, golden rod, purple cone-flower."³⁸ Custer himself exclaimed,

In no private or public park had I ever seen such a profuse display of flowers. . . . So luxuriant in growth were they that men plucked them without dismounting from the saddle. . . . It was a strange sight to glance back at the advancing columns of Cavalry and behold the men with beautiful bouquets [sic] in their hands while the head gear of their horses were decorated with wreaths of flowers fit to crown a Queen of May. Deeming it a most fitting appellation I named this Floral Valley.³⁹



Custer the hunter, poses with a grizzly bear he killed on the 1874 expedition. In the background, supply wagons and tents fill a lush Black Hills meadow.

The original purpose of the expedition seems to be forgotten—comments about strategic lines of communications between Fort Lincoln and Fort Laramie and likely sights for military posts are hard to find.⁴⁰

Traces of gold were found by the expedition, although there seems to be some controversy as to who was the first to find it. Schell states that Horatio N. Ross and Willis W. T. McKay found the first trace of gold on July 30 in the sands of French Creek.⁴¹ Two more finds were made—on August 2, by Ross and McKay, and on August 5, by Ross, McKay, Mike Smith and others.⁴²

On August 3, shortly after midnight, Custer sent his chief scout, Charles A. "Lonesome Charley" Reynolds, to Fort Laramie with reports of the expedition. Reynold's canvas dispatch bag was labeled by the expedition adjutant, First Lieutenant James Calhoun:

Black Hills Express
Charley Reynolds, Manager
connecting with
All Points East, West, North, South
Cheap Rates; Quick Transit; Safe Passage
We are protected by the
Seventh Cavalry!⁴³

Reynolds covered the dangerous 90 miles by traveling mostly at night. The one day that he was forced to travel during daylight because of lack of water, he used some special leather sandals, cinched with drawstrings over his horse's ironshod hooves, so that tracks left would look like those of a shoeless Indian pony; and he removed his hat, so that from afar Indians might not detect him as a white man from the telltale sign.



The enormous size of the Custer Expedition is indicated in this photo of the camp at Hiddenwood Creek

SOUTH DAKOTA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

On the morning of August 8 he rode into Fort Laramie and turned Custer's dispatches over to an Army telegraph operator.⁴⁴ The information was more than modestly relayed to the nation. During his return trip to Fort Lincoln, Reynolds was interviewed by the *Sioux City Journal* on August 13, but he gave only mild reports of gold. Nevertheless, the *Bismarck Tribune* reported that "rich gold and silver mines" had been discovered in "Custer's Valley" which would soon become the "El Dorado of America." The *Yankton Daily Press and Dakotian* ran this headline:

STRUCK IT AT LAST!

Rich Mines of Gold and Silver
Reported Found by Custer

PREPARE FOR LIVELY TIMES!

Gold Expected to Fall 10 per Cent.—
Spades and Picks Rising.— The
National Debt to be Paid
When Custer Returns.⁴⁵

Additional accounts in the *New York Daily Tribune*, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* and *Inter-Ocean*, and *Harper's Weekly* greatly exaggerated the modest reports of Custer himself, as well as later reports of Ludlow and the stubborn geologist Newton Horace Winchell, who steadfastly held that he had seen *no* gold! To this Custer addressed himself:

I regret that Prof. N. H. Winchell, who accompanied the expedition as geologist, and who labored industriously and, I believe, efficiently, to discharge his duties regarding other points, should have permitted what I cannot but believe was a bit of professional pique to stand between him and

the determination of a very important fact, viz., the existence of gold in the Black Hills. Prof. Winchell, as geologist of the expedition, no doubt felt that all questions pertaining to mineral discoveries should be referred to him for final decision—and all questionable points relating to geology were so referred. But when gold was discovered, as it surely was at various points, it was in such form and quantity as to be readily recognized as gold without referring the matter for decision to an expert. The specimens I saw, and which scores of officers and other persons of intelligence saw, and which were taken from the earth from time to time, near our camps, consisted of small particles of pure gold,

EASILY RECOGNIZABLE AS SUCH

by any person who had ever seen gold before. Had Prof. Winchell not been influenced by the feeling I have attributed to him; had he not waited for some person to bring specimens of the gold to his tent and formally request his professional opinion upon it; but had he instead, gone—as he might often have done by a walk of a few hundred yards, or at the most of a few miles—and examined the places from which the gold had been taken, watched the miners and others while prospecting—as I and others did—he would have been qualified by an experience added to a scientific knowledge, for which I have the highest respect, to have given an opinion on the matter which would have been entitled to great weight. As it is, he simply says what he might have said without accompanying the expedition, and what every one who did not accompany the expedition can say, viz.: that "He saw none of the gold." That he did not see it was wholly due to his inaction in the matter, as persons with whom he was brought in contact every day had specimens of the gold in their possession—a fact of which I hardly believe he was ignorant. I regard the discoveries made as

EXCEEDINGLY PROMISING.⁴⁶

While Ludlow urged that the best use of the area would be as an Indian reservation, noting that the real value of the Hills country was not mineral, but agricultural,⁴⁷ Custer's cautious statements recommended "a more thorough examination of the country" to ascertain information concerning gold "in view of the widespread attention already directed to the Black Hills by prospective mining companies."⁴⁸

Interestingly, Reverend Samuel D. Hinman, whose expedition closely followed Custer's, reported the Hills as bleak, forbidding, sterile, useless for agriculture, and swept by fearful winter and summer storms—totally useless to the white man.⁴⁹

Three scientific expeditions had preceded Custer's.⁵⁰ The first extended government-sponsored expedition was the Warren Expedition which left Sioux City for Fort Laramie in July of 1857.⁵¹ The party reached Fort Laramie and divided. At Inyan Kara Mountain, a peaceful but stern encounter with Indians forced Lieutenant Gouverneur Kemble Warren to avoid entering the heart of the Black Hills, instead passing around the southern end of the Hills, up the eastern side to Bear Butte, and then southward again. Although not penetrating deeply into the Black Hills, Warren went far enough to find gold. His opinion, however, placed primary importance on his expedition from a military standpoint, and hence, he made no big issue of his discovery of gold.⁵² His exhaustive reports, together with the accompanying maps, supplied the first reasonable accurate information about the Black Hills and the surrounding country.⁵³

The explorations of the Warren Expedition were continued by Captain William Franklin Reynolds in 1859-1860. He set out from Fort Pierre on June 28, 1859, reaching Bear Butte on July 11.⁵⁴ Several members of the party, including scout Jim Bridger and topographer Lieutenant J. Hudson Snowden, "found gold in modest quantities" as the expedition followed the Belle Fourche. Apparently, Bridger found "small yellow pebbles of various sizes" as he and his mule stopped to drink. Geologist Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden, who had accompanied the Warren Expedition, and Captain Reynolds "at once pronounced it pure gold." Although "very much excited," Reynolds "insisted that Mr. Bridger should cast it away, and not tell any of the party of the matter under any circumstances, fearing that a knowledge of gold in such abundance and of such easy access would certainly break up his whole expedition, since every man would desert the party to hunt for gold." Bridger "very reluctantly complied" with Reynolds' request.⁵⁵ McLaird and Turchen state that there is no reliable evidence to support Parker's claim that the mountaineer Bridger and topographer Snowden discovered gold. The reliability of the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* article must be measured against the fact that it is based upon an interview with Bridger after the Custer Expedition's report of gold received national publicity.⁵⁶ Reynolds noted in his report that

"very decided evidences of gold were discovered both in the valley of the Madison and in the Big Horn mountains, and . . . some indications of its presence was also in the Black Hills, between the forks of the Shayenne [*sic*]."⁵⁷ The party left the Hills on July 14, 1859.

A third military expedition was the Powder River Campaign of 1865. Its three-pronged party fell under the commands of Colonels James A. Sawyers, Samuel Walker, and Nelson Cole. Sawyers passed south of the Hills, first sighting them on July 13, 1865. His exploration was limited to scouting parties, which were to guard the expedition from unexpected Indian attack. Walker left Fort Laramie on August 5, 1865, heading northwest toward the Hills, where a rendezvous with Cole was planned. He reached the South Fork of the Cheyenne on August 11. Passing between the Bear Lodge Mountains and the Black Hills, Walker met Cole on the Belle Fourche, about 40 miles north.⁵⁸ Cole's party was the largest of the three, containing about 1,400 men. It reached Bear Butte on August 14 from the east, and then followed Reynolds' old trail west along the Belle Fourche to the rendezvous with Walker. One of Cole's guides thought he found silver-bearing ore. Parker says that "the net result of all three expeditions was to endow two or three thousand men with knowledge of both gold in the Hills and of the several routes by which it might be reached."⁵⁹

THE GORDON EXPEDITION

*"Forced marches had been ordered that our
imperiled little party might be reached
before being massacred by the incensed
savages."*

THE SITUATION OF THE GORDON PARTY AT THE TIME OF ITS DISCOVERY BY THE U.S. ARMY (TALLENT, P. 94).

Charles Collins' and Thomas Russell's Chicago office, on Clark Street, was financed by Sioux City capital. Encouraged by Custer's 1874 expedition, they again actively campaigned for a Black Hills expedition, but this time were halted by General Sheridan from his Chicago headquarters. Collins and Russell, after moving back to Sioux City, were able to continue their expedition organization. By September 3, 1874, one hundred frontiersmen were awaiting departure from Sioux City to the Black Hills.

Sheridan took action. On September 3, he issued orders to General Terry at St. Paul and to General E. O. C. Ord, commanding the Department of the Platte, that "should companies now organizing at Sioux City and Yankton trespass on the Sioux Indian Reservation," forces should be used to "burn the wagon trains, destroy the outfit and arrest the leaders, confining them to the nearest military post in the Indian country."⁶⁰ Detachments from Lower Brule Agency and Fort Randall were sent out immediately to patrol the routes leading to the Hills.

When the expedition finally departed on October 6, 1874, it consisted of only 26 men, one woman—Mrs. Anne Donna Tallent—and her nine-year-old son.⁶¹ It included "Six canvas-covered wagons, each drawn by two

pairs of fat, sleek, and a few of them somewhat frisky cattle," five saddle horses, a burro, and two beautiful greyhounds.⁶² Collins remained behind to publish his *Weekly Times* and report news of the expedition's progress.

The expedition was sponsored by Collins and accompanied by his partner Russell, but it became known as the Gordon Expedition, after John Gordon, its guide and captain, although it was apparent that his "knowledge of the geography of the country was, to say the least, somewhat vague and uncertain."⁶³ Tallent prophesied that since Collins and Russell, "by virtue of their mutual efforts," were the actual sponsors of the party, the expedition, "by that token . . . will be recorded on the pages of history as the Collins-Russell Expedition."⁶⁴

Tallent says that the expedition was "splendidly equipped with munitions for its defense—each man having provided himself with the most approved Winchester rifle, besides small arms, and sufficient ammunition to last by economy for a period of eight months." She continues:

Fidelity to history compels me to record, however, that at divers [sic] times, some of our men indulged in the careless pastime of firing their precious cartridges at targets, on which occasions I had grave misgivings as to whether there would be any left to kill Indians with in case it became necessary. At times I was strongly tempted to expostulate with them on their thoughtless waste of ammunition, but I quickly controlled that inclination, concluding that, perhaps, they knew their own business—at least they might think they did and take occasion to remind me of that fact. I did, however, venture to approach them timidly one day when I thought them uncommonly reckless, and say solemnly: "Boys, don't you think you will need all this ammunition that you are virtually throwing away when we get out among the Indians?" "Oh, shoot the Indians," answered one of the boys, irreverently. Now, deeming this a potent and convincing argument against the position I had assumed, and plainly significant, I meekly yielded the point and referred no more to the subject.⁶⁵

Once out of Sioux City, the expedition was sure to attract attention from military patrols. As a "misleading device," "O'Neill's Colony" was painted in large, red letters on the canvas covers of the wagons, in order to make onlookers believe that the expedition was headed for O'Neill's Colony in Nebraska Territory, thereby lessening military suspicion. It proved, however, to be a "transparent" diversion.⁶⁶ After a small bout with sickness in camp, a nasty disagreement that almost resulted in the death of Gordon, a death due to sickness, a missed opportunity to eat fox meat for supper, and slight encounter with the Indians, the expedition got its first glimpse of the Black Hills "about ten o'clock a.m., December 31st."⁶⁷ Apparently, the correct date should be December 1, not December 31, since by mid-December the expedition had passed through the Hills.

The expedition entered the Hills near present-day Sturgis on December 9, proceeded to French Creek, following Custer's road of the previous summer, and were there rewarded by the presence of gold. Here they con-

structed a stockade some 80 feet square, made of 13 foot logs set three feet in the ground. Inside the fortress were six cabins, a shallow well, and a huge supply of firewood. The army captain that later removed the party stated that the stockade, with its protruding bastions at each corner to permit flanking fire along the walls, was an impregnable defense to anything but artillery.⁶⁸ Life in the camp was for the most part uneventful. Once a tent burned to the ground, and another time the donkey ate half a side of bacon—both times under the charge of Tallent!⁶⁹ The miners estimated that as much as \$10 a day could be made by prospecting, but the frozen ground and cold weather made the practice very difficult.⁷⁰

The Army was not unaware that the Gordon Expedition had entered the Hills. After several detachments failed to bring the party back, Captain John Mix led Company M of the Second Cavalry out of Fort Laramie on March 12, 1875 to the Gordon Stockade, directed by prospectors J. J. Williams and Red Dan McDonald, former members of the Gordon Expedition detained by the Army. On April 6, in the midst of a blinding snowstorm, the Gordon Stockade was contacted from Mix's "Camp Success," about 12 miles south of the stockade, and given two days to round up the stock and pack the equipment. Mining tools and heavy equipment were cached in the stockade, only to be discovered later on by Indians or other prospectors. Ten head of stray oxen were abandoned. The 18 remaining occupants of the stockade left on April 10 and headed for Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska Territory.⁷¹ The party arrived at Fort Laramie on April 18. The miners were released after two days and transported to Cheyenne. The Tallent family remained in Cheyenne, but all others returned to Sioux City by rail, "rescued" by Collins.⁷²

The Tallent family returned to the Hills in 1876, where Mrs. Tallent taught school and prepared a history of the area and her adventures in it.⁷³ Russell became disillusioned with Collins and later formed his own party in Pennsylvania.⁷⁴ Collins had organized the Black Hills Mining Company of Springfield, Dakota Territory, in December of 1874, but it was largely unsuccessful.⁷⁵ Gordon was arrested leading a second expedition into the area in May of 1875, and was seen in Deadwood some years later, broke and in debt.⁷⁶

THE NEWTON-JENNEY EXPEDITION

*"Thar's plenty of gold here," but its
mixed up with a hell of a sight o' dirt."*

REMARKS OF CALIFORNIA JOE, A GUIDE FOR THE NEWTON-JENNEY EXPEDITION.

In 1875, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, acting under the authority of the Secretary of War, authorized an expedition to the Black Hills to be led by geologists Walter P. Jenney and Henry Newton "for the purpose of ascertaining the extent and value of the gold deposits discovered there."⁷⁷

Despite differing estimates from the Custer Expedi-

tion of the value and extent of Black Hills gold deposits, a gold rush ensued. Bismarck, Sioux City, Yankton, and Cheyenne competed as departure points for miners illegally entering Indian territory. Newspaper propaganda abounded: *The Yankton Daily Press and Dakotian*: "The Golden Hills, More News from the Geological Party. . . Dakota's Mines to Eclipse the World" and "The Eldorado! . . . The Cautious Jenney Gives His Testimony in the Affirmative. And Now, Mr. Indian, Take a Back Seat." *The Bismarck Tribune*: "Gold by the Hat Full!" and "Reports Gold Enough to Pay the National Debt" and "Wealth for an Empire in the Black Hills."⁷⁸

The Treaty of 1868 had not yet been altered to admit white settlers or miners into the Black Hills, still part of the Sioux Reservation. The intruding gold miners, although violating this agreement, at the same time facilitated the final alteration of government policy to meet the demand of the frontier newspapers to "open" the Black Hills.

A commission under Sen. W. B. Allison met with the Sioux near Red Cloud Agency on September 20-29, 1875 to negotiate the purchase of the gold region. It failed for the following reasons:

1. That no agreement can be successfully concluded in the Indian country by means of a grand council of chiefs in the presence of the great body of the Indians.
2. No agreement can be made unless accompanied with presents, as presents have invariably been distributed heretofore at the signing of treaties or agreements.
3. The Indians place upon the Hills a value far beyond any sum that could possibly be considered by the Government.
4. The Indians are hostile to the presence of whites on the reservation, and they believe that the opening of the hills to the whites would result in the opening of the whole reservation and their final expulsion, which belief induces a strong minority at least to oppose any cession.
5. The determination of the part of persons not Indians but having great influence over them, that no negotiation shall be successful that does not involve a large sum annually for many years, and in case of present failure another commission would be sent, which would deal liberally with them. . . .⁷⁹

Hence the commission concluded:

7. Provide for payment to the Indians of a sum which Congress shall fix as a fair equivalent for the Hills taking into account all the circumstances surrounding them, and the value of the Hills to the United States. . . .

The plan here suggested, or some other to be adopted by Congress, should be presented to the Indians as a finality, and with it they should be told that its rejection will have the effect to arrest all appropriations for their subsistence in the future, and all supplies not absolutely required by the treaty of 1868.

The commission makes these suggestions with hesitation, the more so because it will require patience and time to make the experiment a success, if it becomes so. The commission has felt it to be its duty to state the facts as they appear, and has ventured to suggest remedies, imperfect though they may prove to be, in order that these more familiar with the whole subject may combat them, and suggest others more effica-

cious, if these should not stand the test of intelligent and impartial criticism. It is no easy task to satisfactorily solve the problems forced upon the Government by the location, necessities, and condition of these Sioux tribes; but they have claims upon us that cannot be overlooked. They have been pushed back from the east by the advancing tide of civilization until it meets them again from the west. Their reservation, extending over an area as large as New England, is, for the most part unsuited to agriculture. The steady extinction of game is cutting them off from the only means of subsistence of which they have any knowledge. They are now practically helpless without the fostering care of the Government. New and prosperous States have been added to the nation from the territory which was once their homes, and but for our people the region thus taken—no matter how—would still afford them subsistence, precarious and uncertain it may be, but suited to their wants and habits. This sacrifice has brought to them destitution and beggary; to our nation wealth and power, and with these an obligation to make good to them, in some way, the loss by which we have so largely gained. We have faith that this obligation will be fairly met and conscientiously discharged by Congress, and we believe that it should be submitted to that body for immediate consideration and action.⁸⁰

Negotiations to purchase the Black Hills and popular demand for access to the region made it difficult for the army to prevent violation of the Treaty of 1868. General Sheridan reported that the military in the Department of Dakota "had the double duty of protecting the settlements from the raids of hostile Indians, and the Black Hills country from miners attracted there by real or imaginary mineral wealth in the soil." He recommended "some action which will settle this Black Hill question, and relieve us from an exceedingly disagreeable and embarrassing duty."⁸¹ Lieutenant Colonel Richard Irving Dodge remarked:

The military have orders to arrest and send out under guard every man found in the Hills. However distasteful such an order may be, it is obeyed, of course. But the military have no power of detention longer than the arrival of the prisoner at the nearest military post, from whence it is required that he be turned over to the civil authorities.

Curiously enough, that respect and obedience to law and orders, which is so marked a feature of our military establishment, seems totally wanting in the "Civil Authorities." The prisoners, violators of the law, turned over to them, are immediately released, without even bail for future good behavior.

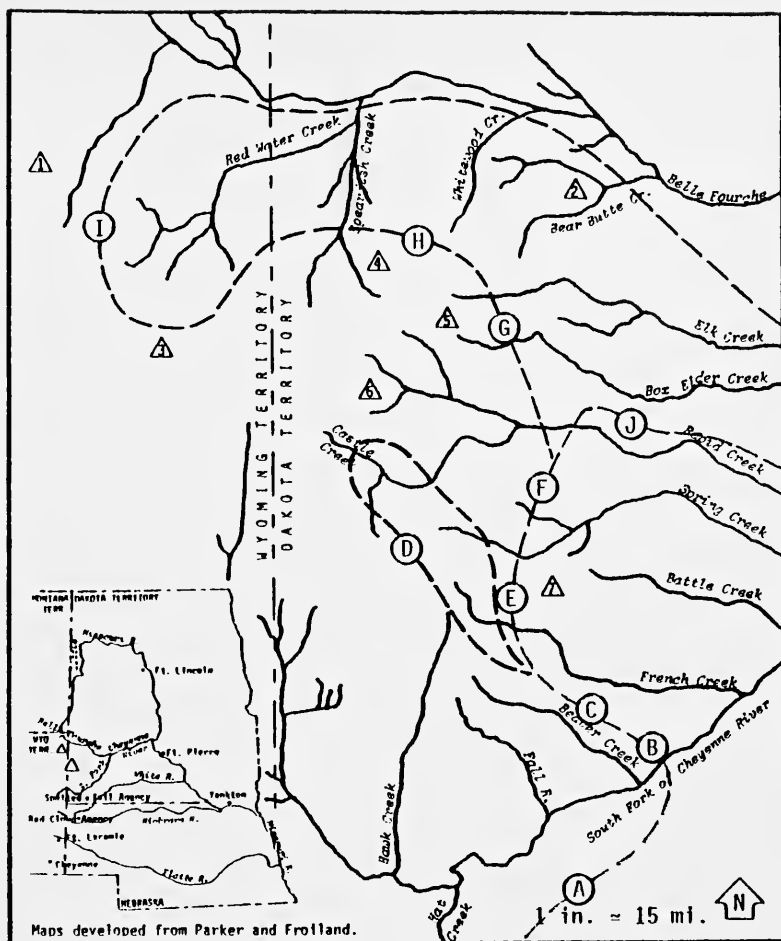
An interloping miner is captured by the troops, sent a prisoner to the nearest military post, and from thence turned over to the civil authorities. Although more than a hundred men have thus been captured and sent out, no one has in any way been punished or even detained by the civil authority. They are at once set at liberty, and immediately start again for the Hills.

One man stated, "I have been captured and sent out from the Hills four times, besides coming out voluntarily under [General George] Crook's proclamation. I give the troops more trouble in catching me each time, and I guess I can stand it as long as they can."⁸²

The Newton-Jenney Expedition was escorted by 400 men and 75 wagons. It left Cheyenne on May 17, 1875, after a short delay because the necessary orders from the

NEWTON-JENNEY EXPEDITION

- A - Expedition leaves Cheyenne on May 17, 1875, reaches Fort Laramie on May 20, and crosses Platte on May 24.
- B - Reaches Black Hills by east fork of Beaver on June 3, establishing camp at French Creek on June 14.
- C - Finds small party of miners in old Gordon Stockade.
- D - Explores Spring and Castle Creeks
- E - Members of the command climb Harney Peak.
- F - Party leaves French Creek on June 25 and heads north to Spring and Rapid Creeks.
- G - Jenney goes north from Rapid Creek to explore region drained by Box Elder and Elk Creeks.
- H - Explores extreme northern Hills drained by Spearfish and Bear Butte Creeks.
- I - Party explores Bear Lodge country.
- J - Party reconvenes at Rapid Creek and Cheyenne River on September 22, preparatory to march to Fort Laramie via White River and agencies of Spotted Tail and Red Cloud. Reaches Fort Laramie on October 22.



BLACK HILLS, Paha Sapa, 1875

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 1 Bear Lodge Mts. (Devil's Tower), Mato Tipi, elev. 5117 ft. | 5 Crook's Tower, 7140 |
| 2 Bear Butte, Mato Paha, 4422. | 6 Custer's Peak, 6804. |
| 3 Inyan Kara Mt., 6374. | 7 Harney's Peak, 7242. |
| 4 Terry's Peak, 7076. | |

War Department had not been issued. It arrived at Fort Laramie on May 20 and crossed the Platte River on the afternoon of May 24 meeting a military escort commanded by Colonel Dodge. The large escort was necessary because "the attitude of the Indians on the penetration of this, the most cherished spot of their reservation, could not be foretold, and it was known that they had been not a little agitated by the incursion of General Custer in the previous year and by the subsequent visits and operations of the miners."⁸³

Newton's concise description of the march to the Black Hills contrasts with flamboyant accounts by other par-

ticipants of mishaps and incidents. Dr. V. T. McGillycuddy, a topographer, recalled that Colonel Dodge's cocksure guide, Jose Merrivale, at one time promised "a nize [*sic*] easy slope to the foothills." Instead the command came across "a precipice rising about five hundred feet. A worried look crossed Jose's face but remained only a moment as he exclaimed: 'Jese [*sic*] Christ, how this damn country he change since I was here last!'" Dodge then came to rely upon another, California Joe, for guidance.⁸⁴ California Joe's record of scouting was not spotless either, however. In the fall of 1868, he had served as Custer's chief scout. It was a short-lived term, however, as Califor-

nia Joe, on the night of his appointment, filled his canteen with rotgut whiskey and led a column of soldiers out to look for Indians. In a mood of celebration, he drank steadily until his unreined mule carried him rapidly away from his column. Suddenly, the troops heard bloodcurdling screams from a short distance. In their preparation to fight the attacking Indians, the soldiers discovered that the noise had come from California Joe, who was dead drunk and in such a frenzy to fight Indians that he had to be bound hand and foot and tied to his mule to get him back to camp. The incident ended California Joe's reign as chief scout, but he did remain as a regular scout and apparently was one of Custer's favorite companions.

Calamity Jane apparently was present on the expedition, disguised as a soldier. The *Yankton Daily Press and Dakotian* of July 6, 1875 wrote about her in an article headlined "A Strange Creature."⁸⁵

Jenney's expedition had established camp at four spots in the Hills. The first, on June 14, was at French Creek, while the entire area of the Black Hills between the forks of the Cheyenne had been explored. This area included Spring and Castle Creeks. Moving northward, a second camp was established on Rapid Creek below the forks. This included Box Elder Creek and Elk Creek. A third camp was made on Bear Butte Creek near Terry Peak. This included Spearfish Creek. The fourth stop was Inyan Kara Creek in the Bear Lodge country.⁸⁶

Jenney found a small party of about 14 miners near the old Gordon Stockade on June 16 while at French Creek. The next day, he sent a dispatch to Fort Laramie stating that he had "discovered gold in small quantities on the north bend of Castle Creek." He further states that although the region has not been fully explored, . . . the yield of gold thus far has been quite small and the reports from the richness of the gravel bars are greatly exaggerated. The prospect at present is not such as to warrant extended operations in mining.⁸⁷

While exploring the French Creek District, members of the command made the first ascent to the summit of Harney Peak. Jenney's account of this climb to the top of "a prominent peak that promises most to be Harney," is certainly worth reading. His dramatic account of the "painful and exhausting, ascension of the rugged mountain peak" is humorously "crowned with disappointment with the sight of Harney still in the far distance."⁸⁸ On the climb evidence of Custer's party of 1874 was found. A mercurial barometer observed on the top of the peak gave its altitude 7,403 feet. According to McGillicuddy, Jenney was the first white man to stand on top of the mountain, 7,500 feet high. He had to shinny up a tree felled into a creviced rock which formed a 10-foot perpendicular wall.⁸⁹ From a mountain near Harney Peak, Colonel Dodge recalled five lightning storms occurring simultaneously in different areas. He noted injuries to two soldiers and a boy who "took refuge under a tall pine." The lightning flash, striking each in the cheek bone and



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Moses E. Milner, "California Joe" at leisure. Two years after the Custer Expedition, Milner was assassinated at Camp Robinson, Nebraska

passing through their bodies, left "a hole in the shoe-sole as clean and round as if made by a bullet."⁹⁰

Jenney left the valley of French Creek on June 25 and proceeded north to the valley of Spring and Rapid Creeks, returning on July 8 to French Creek. He found that new discoveries had been made. In Jenney's absence, in one day, miners had obtained nearly \$27 (27 penny-weights of gold). But a rush to the new discoveries at Spring and Castle Creeks left the French Creek area untested for thoroughness and richness, consistency and regularity.⁹¹

The expedition then moved northward from Harney Peak to explore the Spring Creek district. Jenney sent a dispatch on July 17, 1875, to Fort Laramie stating that he had "discovered gold in paying quantities in gravel bars on both Spring and Rapid Creeks, from twenty to thirty miles northeast of Harney Peak. The deposits are the richest yet in the Hills."⁹²

Gold was first discovered by miners on Castle Creek by the expedition on June 12. By middle to late July, Jenney "found nearly 150 miners camped along the valley prospecting Castle Creek." Jenney noted that "the Rapid Creek district, including Castle Creek, is destined to be one of the most productive in the Black Hills."⁹³

According to Dodge, "By the 20th of July the Hills were swarming with people. At least six hundred men, evading the guards set around, had already gained access to the Hills, and were engaged in prospecting and mining. . . ."⁹⁴ General George Crook issued a proclamation requiring the miners to leave, voluntarily requested, by August 10. A miner's meeting was held on August 10, prior to their departure, in Custer City. Jenney was present. At the meeting, miners were showing off evidence of mining success. Part of Jenney's account:

Far outnumbering the scanty force of troops, completely armed, inured to all the hardships and dangers of the frontier, they would have been no despicable enemy to encounter even in pitched fight, on open ground; while, dispersed in the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains, they might successfully have defied or evaded all the troops which might have been sent against them; yet here they were, assembled in obedience to a proclamation, quiet and orderly, and going out without trouble or expense; not that they

wished to or were obliged to, but simply because they had been kindly notified that their presence in the Hills was violation of the law.

Never have I seen a body of men which gave me a grander idea of the inherent value and true worth of American men, and American institutions.

On the evening of August 10th, the beautiful valley of French Creek, near Custer City, was picturesque with miner's camps. At sunrise on the morning of the 11th, not a man or animal was to be seen.⁹⁵

While Crook was finishing his task, Professor Jenney journeyed north from Rapid Creek to explore the region drained by Box Elder and Elk Creeks, as well as Spearfish and Bear Butte Creeks, which drain the extreme northern section of the main range of the Black Hills as they empty into the Redwater and Belle Fourche. The Box Elder did not yield gold in worthwhile quantities; nor did Elk Creek.⁹⁶

Jenney did not explore, except for map-making topographers, the triangle formed by the Whitewood and Deadwood Creeks. He just missed the richest square mile of gold bearing rock and gravel yet known in America, although he did discover gold in the creeks themselves.⁹⁷ The party next explored the Bear Lodge country, apparently finding only a small trace of gold.⁹⁸ Jenney included in his report a legend of an early discovery of gold in the Black Hills. According to the story, Toussaint Kensler, a half-breed Indian and convicted murderer, first discovered gold in the Black Hills in either Amphibious Creek or French Creek, probably the former, while a fugitive. A map drawn by Kensler compared favorably to that of Dr. McGillicuddy, expedition topographer.⁹⁹

The quartz samples submitted to Mr. D. De P. Rickettes during the expedition for assay contained only small amounts of gold. Rickettes' report:

SCHOOL OF MINES, COLUMBIA COLLEGE

New York, January 24, 1876.

Certification of assay.

Sir: The samples of ores from the Black Hills, marked as below, submitted to me for examination, contain no silver, but gold as follows:

	Gold
No. 1. Jasper, from Jasper Hill, Box Elder.....	None
No. 2. Porphyry ledge, Warren Peaks.....	Trace
No. 3. Empress lode, Box Elder.....	Heavy trace
No. 4. Great Quartz ledge, Box Elder.....	None
No. 5. Lee Anna Lode, Spring Creek.....	Trace
No. 6. Sullivan's lode, Castle Creek.....	Heavy Trace
No. 7. Lode on Rapid Creek.....	Trace
No. 8. Iron pyrites from Spring Creek.....	Trace
No. 9. Lode on Rapid Creek—quartz.....	Heavy Trace
No.10. Lode on Rapid Creek—quartz.....	Heavy Trace
No.11. Empress lode, Box Elder—quartz.....	None
No.12. Lode on Rapid Creek.....	Trace

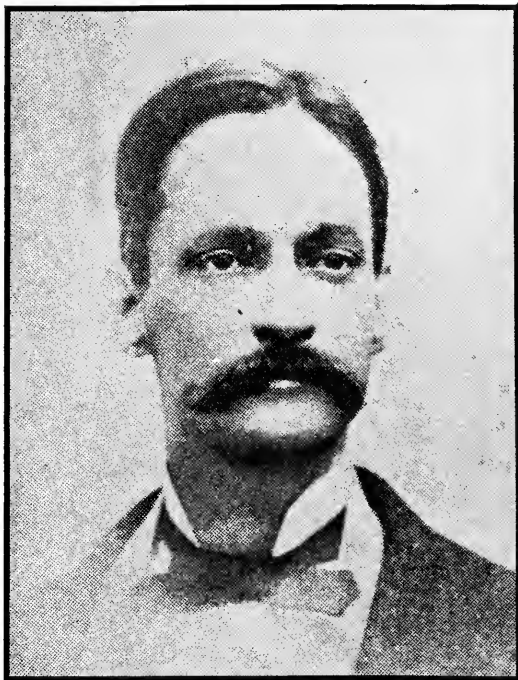
The amount of gold found in each case was too small to weigh, although the charges of ore were large.

Very respectfully,

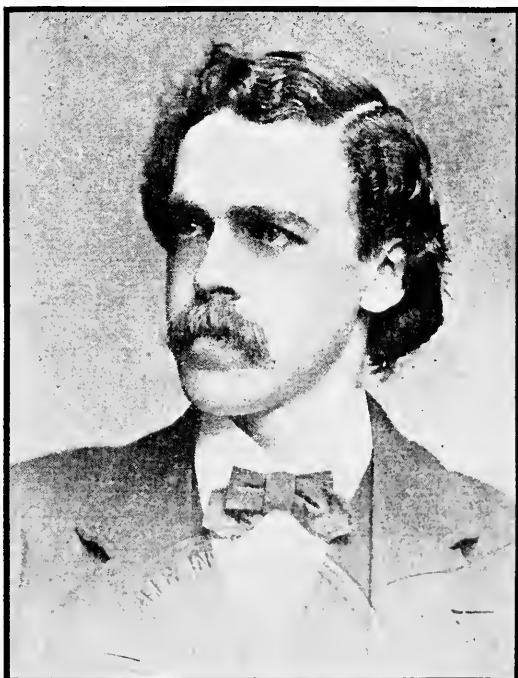
P.DEP. RICKETTES, E.M.

Walter P. Jenney, E. M.

Geologist Black Hills Expedition.¹⁰⁰



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Walter Jenney



NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Deadwood, South Dakota, the rollicking boom town that owed its existence to the exploratory expeditions of the mid-1870s

Professor Jenney did not speak highly of the Black Hills as a source of gold. Colonel Dodge was equally pessimistic.¹⁰¹ California Joe remarked: "Well, you see, there's plenty of gold here,—lots of it—but the trouble is, it's mixed up with such a HELL OF A SIGHT O'DIRT."¹⁰² Jenney's exploration actually should have affected the present government policy very little, but it instead provided an additional rationale for invalidating the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868.¹⁰³

President Grant began to feel the tenseness of the situation:

The discovery of gold in the Black Hills, a portion of the Sioux reservation, has had the effect to induce a large emigration to that point. Thus far the effort to preserve the treaty rights of the Indians of that section has been successful, but the next year will witness a large increase of such emigration. The negotiations for the relinquishment of the gold lands having failed, it will be necessary for Congress to adopt some measure to relieve the embarrassment growing out of the causes named.

The Secretary of the Interior suggests that the supplies now appropriated for that people, being no longer obligatory under the treaty of 1868, but simply a gratuity, may be issued or withheld at his discretion.¹⁰⁴

Hence, the following treaty was successfully negotiated in September, 1876, at Red Cloud Agency:

1st. The Indians to relinquish all right and claim to any country outside the boundaries of the permanent reservation, as established by the treaty of 1868.

2d. To relinquish all right and claim to so much of that said reservation as lies west of the 103d meridian of longitude.

3d. To grant right of way over the permanent reservation to that point thereof which lies west of the 103d meridian of longitude, for wagon and other roads, from convenient and accessible points on the Missouri river, not exceeding three in number.

4th. To receive all such supplies as are provided for by said act and said treaty of 1868, at such points and places on their said reservation and in the vicinity of the Missouri river, as the President may designate.

5th. To enter into such agreement or arrangement with the President of the United States as shall be calculated and designed to enable said Indians to become self-supporting.¹⁰⁵ In effect, it gave miners clear title to the land and made the *Yankton Daily Press and Dakotian* headline, "Mr. Indian, Take a Back Seat," prophetic.

The ensuing Black Hills gold rush brought a life into the region that was perhaps more puzzling to the white man than the thunderstorms around Harney Peak were to the Sioux. People like James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok, "Calamity Jane", Martha Cannary, "Poker Alice" Tubbs, and Reverend Henry Westen "Preacher" Smith made the area into a legend.¹⁰⁶ The flood of gold-seekers also goaded the Sioux Indians into war. Led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, and joined by the Cheyenne, the Sioux crushed the white soldiers at Little Big Horn in June of 1876. Ironically, the commander of the soldiers was Colonel Custer. The victory did the Indians little good, however, as General Terry later enveloped the Indians in the Tongue River Valley and forced surrender in October, 1876.

1. Watson Parker, *Gold in the Black Hills*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), pp. 6-7. Jesse Brown and A. M. Willard, *The Black Hills Trails*. (New York: Arno Press, 1975), originally published by the Rapid City Journal Company in 1924, put the Verendrye brothers in the Black Hills on January 1, 1743.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion*. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 380-81; Parker, pp. 8-9; Brown and Willard, p. 27.
6. Billington, pp. 380, 384; Parker, pp. 9-10. Sven G. Froiland, *Natural History of the Black Hills*. (Lake Mills, Iowa: Graphic Publishing Co., 1978), pp. 47-48, notes that Smith's party of 12 included Black Harris and Bill Sublette.
7. Parker, p. 10.
8. Annie D. Tallent, *The Black Hills*. (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing Co., 1899), pp. 9-11; Parker, pp. 10-11; Brown and Willard, p. 29.
9. Parker, pp. 10-12; Tallent, p. 11; Brown and Willard, p. 27.
10. Tallent, p. 87.
11. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, August 27, 1874. (Cited from Donald Jackson, *Custer's Gold*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 85.
12. Jackson, p. 85.
13. Herbert S. Schell, *History of South Dakota*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), pp. 88-89; Jackson, p. 7.
14. Portion of Article II, Treaty of April 29, 1868, cited from Jackson, p. 128.
15. Ironically, although the Black Hills were part of the land reserved for the Indians by the 1868 treaty, the Indians seldom journeyed into the Hills proper due to superstitions centered around Harney Peak and the common thunderstorms. Parker, p. 6; Henry Newton and Walter P. Jenney, *Report on the Geology and Resources of the Black Hills of Dakota with Atlas*. (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1881), p. 311.
16. *Sioux City Journal*, March 31 and April 9, 1872, cited in Jane Conard, "Charles Collins: The Sioux City Promotion of the Black Hills," *South Dakota History*, Spring, 1972, pp. 131-170.
17. *Sioux City Weekly Times*, March 30, 1872, cited in Conard, p. 140; Tallent, p. 8.
18. Schell, pp. 125-126.
19. Parker, pp. 22-23; Tallent, p. 8, mentions "Harnett and Howard."
20. *Sioux City Weekly Times*, March 30, 1872.
21. Schell, p. 126.
22. George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, cited in Parker, p. 13.
23. Jackson, p. 14.
24. Philip H. Sheridan, *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1868 to 1882*, cited in James D. McLaird and Lesta V. Turchen, "Colonel William Ludlow and the Custer Expedition, 1874," *South Dakota History*, Summer, 1974, pp. 283-284; Jackson, p. 14.
25. William Ludlow, *Report of a Reconnaissance of the Black Hills of Dakota, made in the Summer of 1874*, cited in McLaird and Turchen, p. 285; Tallent, pp. 13-14.
26. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, July 27, 1874, cited in Jackson, pp. 23-24.
27. Sherman's endorsement on a copy of Terry's letter, June 9, 1874, *Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received*, 2275, National Archives, cited in Jackson, p. 24.
28. *St. Paul Pioneer*, June 26, 1874; letter to actor Lawrence Barrett, May 1, 1874, Library of Congress, cited in Lawrence A. Frost, *With Custer in '74*. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1979), p. 131.
29. *Bismarck Tribune*, September 1, 1874, cited in Frost, p. 130.
30. Schell, p. 128; Parker, p. 24; Tallent, p. 13. Calhoun mentions three "Gatling guns" and one "Rodman rifle gun."
31. Schell, p. 128; Parker, p. 24.
32. Parker, p. 24. The cartridge was later found by Troy L. Parker of Hill City, South Dakota, in the 1930s. The message had vanished, however.
33. Ludlow, pp. 12-14; Jackson, pp. 83-84.
34. *Journal of Private Theodore Ewert, July 2 to August 30, 1874*, pp. 37-8 (cited from Jackson, p. 84). Ewert records "Tempany" as "Tenpenny." Parker tells us that at least one more enlisted man's journal has survived. It is that of Private William Zahn of Company G. Zahn's diary is more of a "perfunctory record" of the expedition than is Ewert's. Ewert's diary is privately owned by Melma Huckeby Ewert of Jacksonville, Illinois. Zahn's diary is held by the North Dakota Historical Society. The official daily log of the expedition was recorded by First Lieutenant James Calhoun. This journal is today bound as *With Custer in '74*, edited by Lawrence A. Frost. Although Calhoun was Custer's expedition adjutant in charge of all official correspondence and the daily log, Calhoun found it appropriate to add observations and comments of his own. Calhoun later married Custer's sister Margaret. His journal was originally preserved by Mrs. Custer. It is presently owned by Colonel George Armstrong Custer III (U.S. Army, retired).
35. Tallent, p. 15.
36. *Journal of First Lieutenant James Calhoun*.
37. George Bird Grinnell, "Zoological Report," cited in Ludlow, p. 100; McLaird and Turchen, p. 297.
38. A. B. Donaldson, "The Black Hills Expedition," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. 7, p. 564.
39. *Custer's Order and Dispatch Book*, August 2, 1874, p. 34 (cited from McLaird and Turchen, "Custer," pp. 296-97). It also appears in "Opening the Black Hills, Custer's Report," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. 7, pp. 583-91.
40. Schell, p. 128.
41. *Ibid.* Parker, p. 25, implies that Ross alone made this find, and that McKay first accompanied him on August 2. He also mentions the claim of an Indian scout, Red Angry Bear, to be the first member of the expedition to discover gold. According to Brown and Willard, pp. 38-39, Ross is given the honor of the discovery apparently because he outlived his companion McKay, and therefore was the last to claim the honor! Also, Ross himself fixes July 27 as the date of discovery, although this is evidently in error if gold was discovered on French Creek. If, however, gold was discovered on a tributary of Castle Creek, Gold Run Creek, as McKay asserted, then the correct date would be July 27. The failure of the expedition reports to note this place and date may be due to the disposition of Professor N. H. Winchell.
42. Parker, p. 26.
43. Curiously, Calhoun's journal does not mention the advertisement. Reynolds' *Diary* is held by the Minnesota Historical Society.
44. Reynolds arrived back at Fort Lincoln on August 16. Eleven days later, Custer returned from the Black Hills. Only then did Custer know that his courier had survived the ride to Fort Laramie. Reynolds was later killed with Major Marcus Reno's forces at the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Mrs. Custer, pp. 240-41, also provides an account of Reynolds' flight. Jackson, p. 88, seems to think that perhaps she has aided in creating the almost legendary account of the event. Other key sources for Reynolds are John S. Gray, "News from Paradise: Charley Reynolds Rides from the Black Hills to Fort Laramie," *Journal of American Military History*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1978, and "Last Rites for Lonesome Charley Reynolds," *Montana, the Magazine of Western History*, Summer, 1963; John E. and George J. Remsburg, *Charley Reynolds* (H. M. Sender, 1931).
45. *Bismarck Tribune*, August 12, 1874; *Yankton Daily Press and*

- Dakotaian, August 13, 1874, cited in Jackson, p. 89. The Sioux City interview was reported by the *Bismarck Tribune*, August 19, 1874.
46. Custer, "Preliminary Report," September 8, 1874, cited in McLaird and Turchen, pp. 315-316.
 47. Parker, p. 26.
 48. Custer, "Preliminary Report," cited in McLaird and Turchen, p. 318.
 49. Parker, p. 27. Parker notes that Hinman explored the drier, southern Hills, rather than the more fertile northern and central sections that Custer explored. Further, Hinman set out to find them undesirable whereas Custer hoped to find them pleasant.
 50. Tallent, p. 4, talks of "several expeditions sent to this Western country for the purpose of exploration of subduing the hostilities of the Indian," such as the 1855 expedition of General William S. Harney, prior to the Western Expedition, "the first military and scientific expedition sent out for the purpose of exploration."
 51. Brown and Willard, p. 28. Tallent, p. 4, has Warren exploring the Hills a year earlier (1856) than does Brown and Willard.
 52. Parker, pp. 15-16.
 53. Schell, pp. 68-69.
 54. Parker, pp. 16-17. "Raynolds" is "Reynolds" in Tallent, p. 5.
 55. "The Black Hills Eldorado," *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, January 12, 1875.
 56. McLaird and Turchen, "The Explorations of Captain William Franklin Raynolds, 1859-1860," *South Dakota History*, Winter 1974, pp. 19-62.
 57. Report of Brevet Brigadier General W. F. Raynolds on the Exploration of the Yellowstone and the Country Drained by that River, cited in McLaird and Turchen, "Raynolds," p. 60.
 58. Parker's rendezvous spot, "on the Belle Fourche, about 40 miles north of Devil's Tower," is an impossibility. The Belle Fourche extends only about 32 miles north of the Bear Lodge Mountains. Perhaps it is better said that the rendezvous was 40 miles from Devil's Tower on the Belle Fourche. Too, perhaps the Belle Fourche has changed its course in the past century.
 59. Parker, pp. 17-18.
 60. Parker, p. 29; Conard, p. 145. Sheridan further stated that if Congress acted to open the Black Hills by extinguishing the treaty rights of the Indian, the army would then give "cordial support to the settlement of the Black Hills." Senate Exec. Doc. No. 2 contains much of the army correspondence relative to removing miners from the Hills.
 61. Conard, p. 149.
 62. Parker, p. 30; Tallent, p. 22. Tallent mentions later that the cattle "were neither fat nor sleek, and not in the least bit frisky at the end of the journey."
 63. Tallent, pp. 22-23.
 64. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
 65. *Ibid.*, p. 23-24.
 66. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
 67. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-55.
 68. Watson Parker, "The Report of Captain John Mix of a Scout to the Black Hills, March-April, 1875," *South Dakota History*, Fall, 1977, pp. 385-401, 394.
 69. Tallent, pp. 72-74.
 70. Parker, "Gold," p. 33.
 71. "Report of Captain John Mix to the Post-Adjutant, Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory, April 19, 1875," cited in Parker, "Gold," pp. 35-36. Parker notes that the date of Mix's discovery of the Gordon Stockade is recorded by Tallent as well as by Aken in *Pioneers of the Black Hills* as the fourth, and by Mix as the sixth. Similarly, Tallent and Aken recorded the departure date as the seventh, while Mix records it as the tenth. It is difficult to believe that Mix would make a mistake on such a matter of importance to his superiors.
 72. *Sioux City Weekly Times*, May 1, 1875, cited in Conard, p. 149; Tallent, pp. 86-95.
 73. Parker, "Gold," p. 37. According to Parker, p. 23, much of Mrs. Tallent's book is taken from Rosen's *Pa-Ha-Sa-Pah* and A. T. Andreas's *Andreas's Historical Atlas of Dakota*.
 74. *Ibid.*
 75. Conard, p. 149.
 76. Parker, "Gold," p. 37.
 77. Newton and Jenney, p. xi; Parker, "Gold," p. 63.
 78. *Yankton Daily Press and Dakotaian*, June 23 and July 2, 1875; *Bismarck Tribune*, June 30, July 7, and July 21, 1875.
 79. Report of the Commission Appointed to Treat with the Sioux Indians for the Relinquishment of the Black Hills, p. 18, cited in McLaird and Turchen, "The Scientists' Search for Gold," *South Dakota History*, Fall, 1974, pp. 404-438, 406.
 80. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
 81. *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1868 to 1882*, p. 54, cited in McLaird and Turchen, "Scientists," p. 407.
 82. Richard Irving Dodge, *The Black Hills*. (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1965), p. 111.
 83. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
 84. Julia B. McGillicuddy, *McGillicuddy, Agent*, cited in McLaird and Turchen, "Scientists," p. 412. Jose Merrivale was also known as Joe Merivale, *Yankton Daily Press and Dakotaian*, July 16, 1875. Other accounts of the incident refer to the guide California Joe (Moses Milner), a special guide with the engineering department hired by Professor Jenney, but it was Merrivale that made the blunder.
 85. McLaird and Turchen, "Scientists," p. 414, note that Harry Young in *Hard Knocks: A Life Story of the Vanishing West*, and McGillicuddy are major sources of Calamity Jane's experiences with the expedition. Roberta Beed Solld doubts that Calamity Jane made the trip. *Calamity Jane: A Study in Historical Criticism*. J. Leonard Jennenwein believed it a fact that Calamity Jane was present. *Calamity Jane of the Western Trails*. Solld, p. 8, suggests that the newspaper article proves that a "Calamity Jane" accompanied the expedition, but the possibility remains that she was not the Calamity Jane.
 86. Newton and Jenney, pp. 20-35.
 87. McLaird and Turchen, "Scientists," pp. 416-417.
 88. Newton and Jenney, pp. 67-68.
 89. McGillicuddy, p. 39, cited in McLaird and Turchen, "Scientists," p. 421.
 90. Dodge, pp. 60-61.
 91. Newton and Jenney, pp. 229-238.
 92. McLaird and Turchen, "Scientists," p. 424.
 93. Newton and Jenney, pp. 264-272.
 94. Dodge, p. 112.
 95. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
 96. Newton and Jenney, pp. 272-282.
 97. McLaird and Turchen, "Scientists," p. 430.
 98. Newton and Jenney, pp. 283-289.
 99. *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.
 100. *Ibid.*, p. 294.
 101. Parker, "Gold," p. 65.
 102. *Bismarck Tribune*, June 21, 1875.
 103. McLaird and Turchen, "Scientists," p. 436.
 104. Tallent, p. 132.
 105. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.
 106. Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion*. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974), p. 545, prefers to call these individuals "human scum" and "psychopathic extroverts." Perhaps it is true that they were liars, brawlers, and beer guzzlers, but as a spirit of the times they nevertheless represent legends perhaps no more extreme than the legends more recent times will someday reveal.



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Governor Kendrick's inaugural, State Capitol steps, January 4, 1915.

John B. Kendrick, Cowpoke to Senator 1879-1917

By Eugene T. Carroll

(John B. Kendrick was governor of Wyoming from 1915 to 1917 when he resigned as a result of his election to the U. S. Senate. He represented Wyoming in the Senate until his death on November 3, 1933. This article by Eugene T. Carroll follows Kendrick's life from his birth in Texas to his Senate election.)

John Benjamin Kendrick's ethnic heritage was either Welsh or English, and the name, with innumerable spellings through the centuries, meant "rich in heritage." The Kendrick family in England and America was known for its great moral and physical leadership and bold adventurous spirit. One of the eighteenth century Kendricks, who also shared the name of Benjamin, was an explorer given credit for naming both the Columbia River and the shores of what is now the state of Washington. Another Kendrick, William, married Sarah Jones, first cousin of Martha Washington.¹

The Kendrick families settled extensively on the eastern coast from Massachusetts to Virginia and Georgia. The Georgian Kendricks, John Benjamin's immediate ancestors, were evidently prosperous pre-Civil War plantation owners. Issac, John's grandfather, however, migrated from Georgia in 1842 to Texas and settled just beyond the Sabine River. John Harvey, the father of the future Wyoming rancher and politician, also moved in

1847 to Cherokee County about 50 miles northwest of the Sabine. His second wife, Anna Maye, was an Irish Catholic who had been in this country just about a year. She gave birth to two children, John Benjamin, born on September 6, 1857, and Rosa Maye in 1859; the children's father died in 1860, the mother in 1863.

The children, now orphans, lived briefly with one of their uncles and his wife until his step-sister, Mary Jane, and her husband, Tom Reavis, adopted them into their own family. Reavis, a Confederate veteran, moved his family to a new home in Williamson County, about sixty miles north of Austin. Kendrick lived with the Reavis family for about eleven years.²

The Reavis family was the only family group that John Benjamin ever knew. When Tom Reavis was close to death in 1915, Kendrick, then governor, visited his Texas relatives in April of that year. In a June letter, he described his trip and his relationship to Tom, "I shall always be glad I made the trip...perhaps the last opportunity to visit with one of the best men I ever knew." He could never underestimate the influence that Tom had had on his life.³

In 1879 Kendrick took a job as a trail herder for cattle heading for the grasslands of Wyoming. Texas cattlemen, unable to move their cattle directly to midwestern markets, drove them northward through Wyoming and Montana where there was sufficient grassland and rail connections to eastern markets. Kendrick joined the cattle drive of Charles Wulfgen and Dudley and John Snyder. Wulfgen and his half-brothers headquartered in Cheyenne and became known as the largest importers of Texas cattle into the Wyoming territory.⁴

The drive took five months to trail the 1,500 miles and young Kendrick suffered physically from the toil of working continuously with the large herd. When he did recuperate, Wulfgen appointed him "pilot" for the cook wagon where he not only led the wagon, but shot game, gathered firewood and generally helped the cook.⁵

In June of 1882, Kendrick, who was 25 and considered honest by stockmen and cowboys alike, was offered a full time job by the Wyoming Stock Grower's Association as a stock inspector at Deadwood. The job paid a handsome \$150 a month and demanded responsibility from the person who assumed it. Kendrick initially accepted the job but then declined, for he had other ideas for his own advancement.⁶

During the early years of the 1880s, the cattle industry expanded heavily from eastern and foreign investors. During the first winter of that decade, Amasa R. Converse, president of the First National Bank of Cheyenne, along with H. S. Manville and Joseph Peck organized the Converse Cattle Company. William C. Irvine of Nebraska, who was later to become one of Kendrick's closest friends, provided a good portion of the firm's cattle. Wulfgen and Kendrick, the latter with his own small herd of cattle now, sold their herds to Converse and returned to Texas. Mrs. Wulfgen, who was not well, visited with doctors in Austin,

while her husband planned to buy another herd to trail northward again in the spring of 1884. Kendrick's whereabouts are not known in these years, although he did visit his family in Texas and worked again for Wulfgen in Wyoming in 1885.⁷

Kendrick, sometime in 1885, took active charge of the "77 cattle group," organized by the Hord brothers and Thomas B. Adams. These men, later incorporated as the Lance Creek Company, left the active management to Kendrick while they scoured the eastern banking centers for badly needed investor's help. Kendrick sold the company some of his cattle, and received, in return, 100 shares of common stock. Now as part owner of the company, he assumed more and more of the managerial responsibility.⁸

The winter of 1886-1887 has been termed one of the worst disasters in late nineteenth century Western America. In Wyoming alone, at least 15 percent of the cattle died, and with the loss of weight from lack of forage, the cattle lost at least 30 percent of their value. Furthermore, cattlemen suffered from a declining market. Since Kendrick was so much aware of range conditions, he urged his partners to gain legal title to their grazing land. He was given the job of selecting land and filing claims which he seemed to do more than adequately despite the fact that he had no legal background.⁹ In late fall of 1887 Kendrick left the Lance Creek Company to rejoin the Converse Company as their general superintendent. Again he was given wide managerial duties; selecting crews, keeping books and moving the cattle to new ranges in southern Montana and north-central Wyoming.

Sheridan, the largest city in this region, became temporary headquarters for Kendrick and his crews. Kendrick soon recognized Sheridan as a potential investment opportunity. He and a business friend, A. S. Burrows, formed a second bank in the city in 1890. Kendrick contributed the capital he had managed to save or borrow, while his friend supplied the managerial "know-how."¹⁰

By 1902 Kendrick had been married about ten years. Eula Wulfgen, the daughter of Charles Wulfgen, Kendrick's first boss, was only 18 years old when she married, while her husband was 15 years her senior. The Kendricks lived on the OW Ranch in south-central Montana for 17 years until their two children, Manville and Rosa-Maye were old enough to start school in Sheridan.¹¹

By 1910 Kendrick had become one of the most prosperous men in Sheridan County. He had invested wisely in ranching and business lands, and at 53 years of age, could turn easily from ranching and cattle to county politics. A life-long Democrat, Kendrick first became interested in politics from local participation in the activities of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. The county Democratic committee, knowing of this interest, persuaded him to run for state senator from Sheridan County. The Democrats in state convention nominated former Republican Senator Joseph M. Carey as their can-



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Kendrick named his Sheridan mansion "Trail End." The interior featured dark mahogany woodwork shipped from Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 36 railroad cars. The tile and marble was made to order in Omaha, Nebraska, and the ceilings and walls not covered by panelling were covered with canvas and handpainted by a New York artist. Eula Kendrick (left), the daughter of one-time Kendrick employer Charles Wulfgen, was 18 when she married the future Wyoming governor and senator. She is pictured in the Wyoming governor's mansion at the time she was the state's "first lady." Both Trail End and the Historic Governor's Mansion are now state historic sites.

didate for governor. Carey ran on a Progressive-Democratic ticket as a reform candidate who may have wanted to destroy the Republican Party.¹² Kendrick and Carey both won their offices although the Republicans were able to reorganize the state House and Senate and re-elect Clarence Clark to the Senate.

During the 1911 legislature very few bills were passed. But Kendrick as a neophyte legislator profited from his inherited ability to compromise, his promises of financial help, and his ever-widening circle of friends. Two influential friends were J. Ross Carpenter of Cheyenne and Leslie A. Miller of Laramie. Carpenter, the owner of a real estate company, was the philosophic mentor for the state's Democrats, and because he considered politics as a crusade, he attracted many from the progressive wing of the party.

In an era when the average voter was so dependent on the newspaper for information, Carpenter persuaded Kendrick to invest \$5,700 in the *Cheyenne State Leader*, a paper that was going to be sold to the highest bidder regardless of party. However, Carpenter, who also invested \$5,700 in the paper, was not as candid about the financial condition of the paper with Kendrick as he should have been. Kendrick lost between \$7,000 and \$10,000 in helping Carpenter keep the paper afloat.¹³

Carpenter envisioned the *Leader* as a Democratic voice aimed at stockmen and ranchers who were generally Republican in their philosophies and votes. In his correspondence with Kendrick in the summer of 1911, Carpenter implied that the Sheridan Democrat should seriously consider running against Senator Warren in 1912. Kendrick responded positively, and by October of that year, had purchased the controlling voice in another newspaper, the *Sheridan Enterprise*. He and Carpenter met secretly to plan a Senate campaign. Carpenter enthusiastically endorsed the Kendrick move and more than likely the financial aid to the party coffers. Carpenter wrote, "We realize that your wealth will be of immense aid...yet I would personally be as zealous in my support were your means only limited."¹⁴

Leslie A. Miller, later governor of Wyoming, who served in the House in 1911, was on the staff of the *Laramie Boomerang*. Kendrick hired Miller to investigate the Warren Livestock Company as well as alleged reports on abuses on the senator's sheep ranches. Miller was so bitter and totally partisan in his anti-Warren editorials that Kendrick, while condoning the attacks, urged Miller to be more charitable.¹⁵

The Wyoming Stock Growers Association played a definitive part in Kendrick's political and social life. The Association was also a political instrument in the senatorial career of Warren. William C. Irvine, who considered both Warren and Kendrick personal friends, tried to persuade the latter from seeking Warren's seat in 1912. Irvine was the long-time president of the W.S.G.A., and in order to prevent the expected Kendrick entry, he offered the

Sheridan Democrat the presidency at the next state convention. Kendrick was pleased with the offer but remained non-committal.¹⁶ Kendrick was elected vice-president at the state convention in the spring of 1911. His invitation to hold the next meeting in Sheridan was accepted, and there, he was elected president while Irvine was named executive secretary. Kendrick, remembering the impact of the Carey name on Wyoming voters, then selected Robert D. Carey as his vice-president.

In May of 1912 the Democrats met to choose candidates for state offices. Kendrick remained in the wings. The platform endorsed regulation of corporations and a federal income tax, but oddly enough, did not mention the popular election of United States senators. The Wyoming delegation to the national convention in Baltimore in July endorsed Congressman Champ Clark of Missouri for the presidential nomination. Kendrick was an unofficial observer at the national convention, and after the convention nominated Woodrow Wilson, Kendrick returned to Wyoming and announced his own candidacy.¹⁷

In the August 20 primary, Kendrick found himself unopposed; Thomas P. Fahey of Cheyenne, a labor journal editor, won the nomination for Congress. Kendrick had hoped that an insurgent Republican would run with him in order to present a balanced slate of candidates. Roy Montgomery, a Gillette hotel proprietor, a stockman and a close friend of Kendrick's, handled the campaign in northeastern Wyoming. Montgomery persuaded Kendrick to contribute \$1,000 to set up a newspaper in Sundance. While the financial arrangement remained secret, Kendrick feared exposure from Republicans would publicize him as "an owner of a long string of Democratic papers."¹⁸

The general campaign of 1912 was issue-oriented. Kendrick attacked the Taft administration for its irrigation policies and the withdrawal of federal oil lands in Wyoming. He agreed with the basic principles of the wise use of resources but thought that these natural resources should be administered for the people of his time. He and Senator Warren were not far apart on the issues of reclamation and disposition of public lands. Kendrick, though, did not discuss issues that were a part of the national scene.¹⁹

The press of both parties kept the campaign hot and partisan. The *Cheyenne Tribune*, for instance, claimed that Kendrick had illegally fenced almost 70,000 acres of federal land, and in securing titles to personal land, had used "dummy" entrymen. The Democratic press charged Warren with illegal fencing, misuse of the franking privilege, and the promotion of his son-in-law, John J. Pershing, from captain to brigadier-general.²⁰

As a campaigner, Kendrick enjoyed informal gatherings. In almost all his speeches, he would refer to his inexperience and his non-partisan attitude, a technique that would win future elections if not this one. He seemed



Construction of Trail End was started in 1908 and not completed until the summer of 1913. The next year Kendrick was elected governor. When he went to the U.S. Senate, Trail End became his summer home. Currently, the mansion is a state historic site jointly operated by the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department and the Wyoming Recreation Commission.

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to find a common bond with his audiences and their problems. "My life-long experience as a pioneer, my life on the range has been close to the real things in life."²¹

The November elections saw the election of Woodrow Wilson and the re-election of Congressman Mondell and Senator Warren. The Republicans won both houses of the legislature although their control of the House of Representatives was shaky for a time.²²

When the legislature met in January of 1913, Warren was confirmed after days of partisan wrangling. In contrast to the 1911-1912 legislative sessions, Governor Carey and the Republican majority carried their bitter partisanship through most of the session. However, some constructive measures passed. Two federal constitutional amendments were ratified: direct election of United States senators and the personal income tax.

By 1914 Kendrick was prepared to run again, this time for governor. His friend, S. G. Hopkins, carefully planned the campaign. In late April, Hopkins wrote to Kendrick: "Our party affairs have reached a very critical stage . . . which will require the greatest tact and diplomacy." Hopkins confided to Kendrick that the Carey forces needed a Progressive to run with Kendrick. Douglas A. Preston was the Democratic candidate and Fred Blume of Sheridan would be the choice for the Progressive nomination for Congress. Even though Kendrick at times seemed willing, he vacillated to the point of frustration with leaders of the party. Despite the fact that he had just occupied his new Sheridan home (Trail End) and had been back in the cattle business only briefly, he finally consented to run. To a close friend, though, he confided that he hoped the campaign would not keep him away from home for more than 45 days.²³

Kendrick formally began his campaign on September 20. Again, he appealed to the rural voter. He advocated funding for more experimental farms to educate those in agriculture on how to profit by newer methods of irrigation. One of his major topics raised before all voter audiences was on the need for irrigation projects.²⁴

In spite of these issues, his campaign emphasized his personality instead of issues, as he did in 1912. His opponent was Hilliard S. Ridgely, a man whose only public office had been a short tenure with the United States Department of Justice. The campaign was almost a bland affair. Kendrick led the ticket and was only the second Democrat to be elected governor since 1890, defeating Ridgely by 3,200 votes. Preston and Blume were defeated by Congressman Mondell, and the Republicans kept their majorities in the state legislature. Kendrick's good friend, William C. Irvine, wrote that the governor-elect could credit his win more to his personality than to any issue. Kendrick appealed to all segments of the voting public because he de-emphasized his party affiliation and talked to his audiences not as a candidate but as an ordinary human being.²⁵

As governor he remained in constant touch with the

people. One of his first recommendations to the legislature was the establishment of a Public Utilities Commission. The legislature responded with the Public Utilities Commission Act of March 4, 1915. The most important section of the Act was the setting up of a board which had the power to set rates for transportation companies, telephone, electric light power, gas, water and pipeline companies.

In a Joint Memorial to Congress in the same year, the legislature, with Kendrick's approval, protested President Wilson's withdrawal of public lands containing mineral rights and the withdrawal of power sites to control water resources. In the Appropriation Act of 1915, Kendrick called for and received \$10,000 to make state surveys on possible irrigation and reclamation sites.²⁶

As 1916 approached, the Democrats began to look for a candidate to oppose Senator Clarence D. Clark. When the rumors began to surface that the governor was the only Democrat to beat Clark, Kendrick released a press statement: "I was elected governor for four years, and I think that those who elected me expect me to serve out my term as governor."²⁷

When the May, 1916, convention of the party met, no candidate was nominated. However, Democrats began a campaign to write in Kendrick's name in the August primary. S. G. Hopkins, now party chairman and State Commissioner of Lands, had written to E. S. Drury that he would not be a candidate, but of Kendrick, he wrote, "We must draft him to make the race." He contended that President Wilson needed strong, dynamic men at this time.

Another friend, Robert Rose, wrote to Kendrick: "... there is no one else who can enter the coming campaign as a candidate." Kendrick replied that he could not see himself holding one office and campaigning for another. He was sure that there were other potential candidates who could do the job.

Despite his reluctance to openly seek the nomination, Kendrick's name was written in during the August primary. The governor campaigned for the office as vigorously as did Senator Clark, but it was not as vindictive a campaign as might have been expected. Democratic papers accused Clark of not introducing significant legislation, or of voting against Wyoming's interests. The Republican press predictably attacked Kendrick for keeping one office while campaigning for another.²⁸

The one major campaign issue centered on the governor's position as president of the State Land Board. On November 17, 1915, Kendrick had bought about 10,000 acres of land at a public auction for \$10 an acre. The Republicans criticized him for purchasing land while he was president of the Land Board. But in general, the land transaction issue did not seem great enough to prevent a Kendrick victory on election day. The governor won, not only because the election was the first by popular vote, but because Senator Clark had been in the Senate for

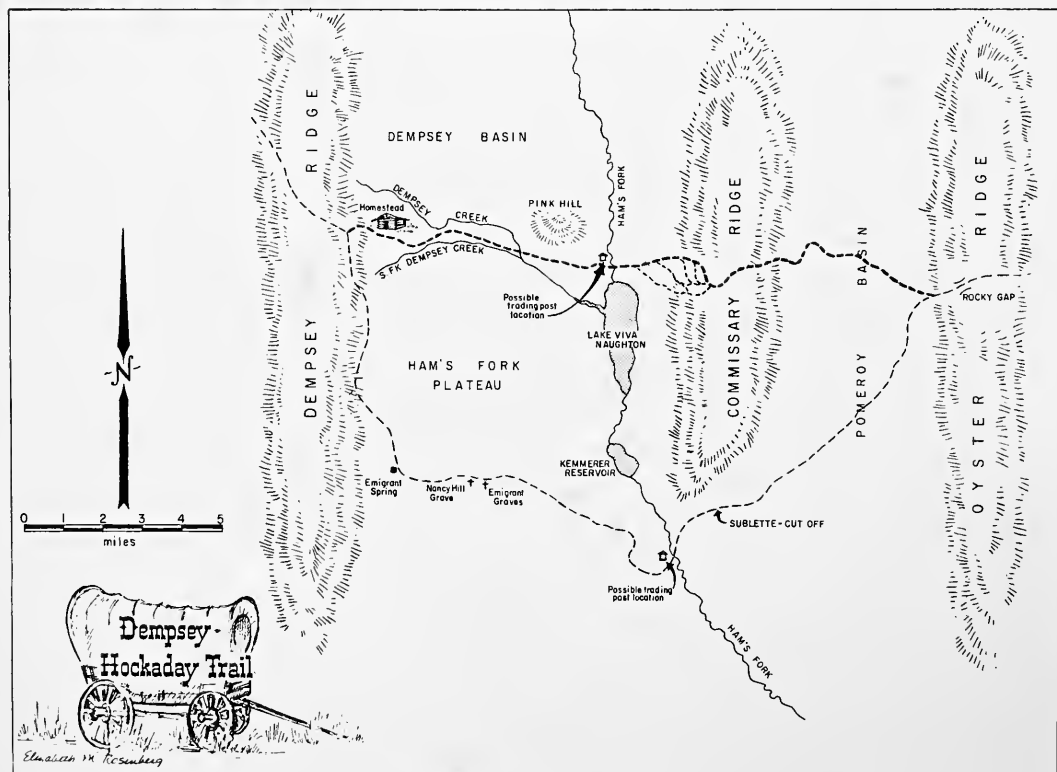
almost 22 years. Wyoming voters hoped Kendrick would bring a new voice and new energy to Washington.²⁹

1. John Benjamin Kendrick Collection, Box 122, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming. Hereafter cited as the "JBK" Coll. This paragraph is based on information in the "Kendrick Genealogy Notebook," a scrapbook of unnumbered pages and some loose undated material; Ray Allen Billington, *Western Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1974), p. 432.
2. Reavis genealogy in the "Kendrick Genealogical Notebook."
3. JBK to Mrs. Mary B. Mays, June 12, 1915, Box 10, JBK Coll.
4. Maurice Frink, W. Turrentine Jackson and Agnes Wright Spring, *When Grass Was King* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1956).
5. Wulfgene Genealogical Notebook, Box 122, JBK Coll.
6. Secretary to the Wyoming Stock Growers Association to JBK, June 20, 1882, Vol. 2, outgoing correspondence; p. 620. JBK to Colen Hunter, July 1, 1882, incoming correspondence, Wyoming Stock Growers Association Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
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8. Lewellyn, p. 13.
9. T. A. Larson, "The Winter of 1886-1887 in Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming*, XIV (January, 1942), pp. 13-14, 15. Thomas B. Adams to JBK, August 10, 1887; T. B. Hord Coll., American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Vol. 1, p. 55.
10. *The Sheridan Post*, October 16, 1890.
11. "Wulfgene Genealogical Notebook," Box 122, JBK Coll.
12. *The Sheridan Post*, October 20, 23, 1910.
13. J. R. Carpenter to JBK, July 8, 15, 17 and September 2, 1911, Box 2, JBK Coll.
14. J. Ross Carpenter to JBK, October 31, 1911, Box 2, JBK Coll.
15. JBK to Leslie A. Miller, February 16, 1912, Box 3, JBK Coll.
16. JBK to William C. Irvine, February 7, 1912, Box 3, JBK Coll.
17. *Sheridan Daily Enterprise*, July 5, 1912.
18. JBK to Roy Montgomery, July 13, 1912, Box 3, JBK Coll.
19. This paragraph is condensed from Kendrick's speech notes, T. Blake Kennedy Papers, Box 202, JBK Coll.
20. *Cheyenne Tribune*, September 8, November 1, 2, 1912; *Sheridan Enterprise*, August 9, September 9, October 2, 1912.
21. Kendrick speech notes, T. Blake Kennedy Papers, Box 202, JBK Coll.
22. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 328.
23. S. G. Hopkins to JBK, April 24, 1914; JBK to M. B. McKillip, June 16, 1914; JBK to A. S. Burrows, August 6, 1914, Box 5, JBK Coll.
24. *Cheyenne State Leader*, September 20, 1914. (See the author's article on Kendrick's efforts to secure water legislation in Congress in the 1920s and the early 1930s in the Fall, 1978 issue of the *Annals of Wyoming*, entitled "John B. Kendrick's Fight for Western Water Legislation, 1917-1933," pp. 319-333.)
25. W. C. Irvine to JBK, November 28, 1914, Box 6, JBK Coll.
26. Larson, pp. 369, 394.
27. *Wyoming Tribune*, March 27, 1916.
28. S. G. Hopkins to E. S. Drury, March 4, 1916; Robert Rose to JBK, March 18, 1916; JBK to Rose, March 23, 1916. Box 14, JBK Coll.; Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 391.
29. Larson, pp. 392-393.

The Dempsey-Hockaday Trail— An Experience in History



By Robert G.
Rosenberg



To go or not to go; is even now the question in the minds of thousands of our countrymen, residents of the Atlantic States. And it can be answered most emphatically and truthfully, yes! or no! depending entirely upon circumstances.

But to the strong young man, possessing the determination to do, or die, willing to meet and brave disappointment should it come upon him, and can reach here with one hundred or even fifty dollars in pocket, COME TO CALIFORNIA.

It is a land full of glorious promise, a land where the utmost diversity of pursuits is presented to the enterprising, of every capacity, from the man of wealth, to the day-laborer, whose only capital is his hands. A land above all others, where industry and prudence make poor men rich . . .¹

Thus the young, the old, the near destitute and the rich adventurer were lured by often erroneous and always tempting ads to join the groups moving westward on an arduous journey.

Mr. John Hockaday, an experienced mountaineer, discovered in 1854 a cut-off route across the Bear River mountains, over which he attempted to turn the emigration, and he erected a bridge for the purpose of aiding the adoption of the line.

For light trains this route is decidedly preferable to the old traveled road, and may be so improved as to serve the important purpose of dividing the travel and preventing the present great loss of stock for want of grass.²

So F. W. Lander described the Dempsey-Hockaday trail in his Preliminary Report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1857, a report concerning Pacific wagon roads to be built or improved by the Federal Government. The Dempsey-Hockaday Trail was a variation of the Oregon Trail of the great 19th century westward migration. It was a "short cut" on the Sublette Cut-off, which was the original Oregon Trail across what is now western Wyoming.

The Dempsey-Hockaday Trail is located in Lincoln County in extreme western Wyoming, approximately 18 miles northwest of Kemmerer and about 16 miles east-

southeast of Cokeville. The trail is approximately 16.7 miles long,³ crosses the north-south running Commissary Ridge, the Ham's Fork Plateau, and Dempsey Ridge (from east to west), with the Ham's Fork of the Green River intervening. Commissary Ridge, formerly known as Absaroka Ridge, represents the southern continuation of the Wyoming Range. This range and the Salt River Range (paralleling it to the west) were collectively known as the Bear Mountains or Bear River Mountains by early emigrants.

At its highest points the westward trail reaches an elevation of 8,671 feet near the crest of Commissary Ridge and of 8,160 feet atop Dempsey Ridge on the Ham's Fork Plateau where it rejoins the Sublette Road.⁴ The trail dips to a low point of 7,240 feet where it crosses the Ham's Fork at the present-day Viva Naughton Reservoir.⁵

Throughout the 1870s the Hayden Survey was active in this area studying geology and geography. Many of the significant landforms were named by its members.



At this point on the Dempsey-Hockaday Trail (opposite page), the emigrant has made the arduous descent of Commissary Ridge (in background) and is approaching the Ham's Fork near present-day Wyoming Route 233. Wagon wheels cut a deep gully into river gravel where the Dempsey-Hockaday Trail ascends the west bank of the Ham's Fork (left). Having completed the ascent, the traveler was in the vicinity of one of the two possible locations of the "lost" trading post. One of several historic markers (above) placed along the route by the Wyoming State Historical Society displays the generally recognized dates for the Oregon Trail. These brass medallions are sought by souvenir hunters, resulting in vandalism to most of the markers.



ALL PHOTOS COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

Henry Gannett mapped the major drainages of the region and described Ham's Fork:

This stream which in high water is scarcely fordable, in the fall of the year dwindles to an insignificant creek. In its drainage area and length, however, it exceeds any of the other western branches of the Green . . . It heads in and west of the meridional [sic] ridges, its main stream reaching behind and as far north as the sources of the Fontenelle. After flowing southward through a broad basin in the hills for many miles, it turns eastward; cuts its way out into the Green River Basin; then it flows nearly southeast, and finally, after a course of nearly 40 miles in the basin, it unites with Black's Fork, at Granger, a station on the Union Pacific Railroad.⁶

Beginning at the eastern junction with the Sublette Road or Cut-off, the Dempsey-Hockaday Trail crosses the southern end of Oyster Ridge and proceeds westward across the Pomeroy Basin. Basil Longworth, an emigrant crossing in 1853, described Oyster Ridge and a late night encounter with an Indian on Crow Creek (Willow Creek) in Pomeroy Basin:

We made 18 miles passing over two high ranges of mountains; at noon we ate dinner at Pine Grove with snowdrifts near us. We then passed up a rough hill two or three miles long when we found ourselves on the top, when I thought I was sufficiently elevated to see my native home if my vision had been strong enough. The prospect from here was truly extensive. The top of this mountain was perfectly sharp, there was a ridge of thin stones set on their edges and a foot high and the ground fell right off on each side of this backbone; the descent from here was long and steep, perhaps a thousand feet in perpendicular height. We camped on Crow Creek [Willow Creek], a pretty stream. This night about 1 o'clock an Indian attempted to steal Mr. Connor's mare. He threw the lariat over her head and then looked at her feet to see if she were hobbled, when Mr. Conyer (the guide) hailed him; he sprang upon her back. By this time Conyer was within five yards of him, cocked his gun and aimed at his breast with a deadly rifle; he pulled the lock but the gun did not go off as he had neglected to set the trigger, which accident saved his [the Indian's] life. The Indian then dismounted in haste; the guard then fired at him at a distance but without effect.⁷

The trail then climbs the east side of Commissary Ridge. On the crest the Dempsey-Hockaday Trail meets a modern improved access road to the Getty 15-3 Willow Creek Well. A portion of the old trail has been graded. What are probably the original trail ruts can be seen paralleling the new road to the west.

The emigrant trail soon is visible on the west side of the access road, and a number of alternate descent routes into the Ham's Fork Valley are still evident. It is possible that all the trail variations descending this hill are original and represent "short-cuts" or better routes for individual westward-bound travelers of the time. All the various descent trails merge on the east side of the Ham's Fork at the bottom of the ridge.

The trail can be seen in sagebrush just east of Wyoming Route 233 and across the highway from a cluster of ranch buildings. From the cluster of buildings the trail runs west across Ham's Fork paralleling a modern two-

track to the north and climbs the west bank of the drainage area where it cut a deep trench in gravelly soil. Local tradition claims that a trading post was once located in this area.⁸

The dominant topographical feature on the west side of Ham's Fork is called the Ham's Fork Plateau and includes the Dempsey Ridge. The Dempsey-Hockaday Trail crosses the low rolling ridge system which includes Pink Hill and descends the west slope of the ridge into the Dempsey Creek drainage. Several two-track roads converge in this area so that the original crossing no longer is evident; a number of trail variations probably existed here, their individual usage governed by weather, road conditions, and season of the year.

The Dempsey-Hockaday Trail followed the South Fork of Dempsey Creek in order to reach Dempsey Ridge. Today, field examination of the trail indicates that the preferred route was an unimproved two-track on the crest of an east-west running low ridge on the north side. The Wyoming State Historical Society has placed historic trail markers along the way. The route continues northwest and passes a log homestead and outbuildings beside a spring. As the trail begins the steep ascent of Dempsey Ridge, there are what appear to be two traces a few hundred feet apart which have been badly eroded so that individual ruts are no longer discernible. The trail continues its ascent to the crest of Dempsey Ridge, where it rejoins the Sublette Road which descends the west wide of Dempsey Ridge to the Rock Creek drainage.

The vegetation varies greatly as the Dempsey-Hockaday Trail trends westward over high ridges and deep drainages. The ridgetops and upper slopes are forested with aspen, lodgepole pine, limber pine, subalpine fir, and Englemann spruce. The lower slopes and drainage area are sage-covered with lesser quantities of rabbitbrush, Indian ricegrass, wheatgrass, bunch grasses, prickly pear cactus and saltbush. The larger drainages are lined with dense willow growth.

Extensive logging took place on the slopes above the upper Ham's Fork Basin prior to the 20th century. Red fir and lodgepole pine logs were cut and floated down Ham's Fork to be used for railroad ties. As late as 1914, logs were being cut in the same area and floated downstream to Frontier, Diamondville, and Oakley for use in the mines.⁹

Large stands of timber were destroyed in forest fires during the second half of the 19th century, especially in the vicinity of Lake Alice (formerly Fish Lake). These areas were choked with fallen timbers, but in the early part of the 20th century the burns were being slowly replaced by lodgepole pine.¹⁰ Today the Bridger-Teton National Forest occupies the region due north of the Dempsey-Hockaday Trail in the upper Ham's Fork Basin.

The background of the Oregon Trail, including the Dempsey-Hockaday cut-off, begins with the opening of



A reminder of a lonely and difficult homestead life stands beside a spring on the north side of the trail near the east base of Dempsey Ridge (in background).



The emigrant faced one of his toughest challenges on the east side of the ridge. Today, a badly eroded trough cut through an aspen grove begins the steep ascent (above). The trail rejoins the Sublette Road on the crest of Dempsey Ridge at 8,160 feet (left). The emigrant would then descend the west side of the ridge to Rock Creek.

PHOTOS COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

the western fur trade in the early 19th century. Ranging over mountain passes and down streams in search of beaver, the mountain men pioneered the basic routes that would be used by emigrants bound for Oregon, California, and Deseret (Utah). The basic Oregon Trail was well-known to the fur trapper and trader long before the first emigrant wagon ever left the "States."

It should be noted that these routes had already been established by Indian groups indigenous to these regions centuries before the coming of Anglo-American civilization. Since the Indians left no written record, they have received scant recognition for the routes that are now our modern highway and rail systems and which enabled a westward migration.

The Dempsey-Hockaday Trail passes through the former hunting grounds of the Absaroka or Crow Indians. (Original local place names such as Absaroka Ridge and Crow Creek attest to their influence). Early emigrant journals frequently mention contact with the Snake or Shoshoni Indians as well. The "Old Indian Trail" is known by local residents today as following Fontenelle Creek upstream from the Green River to Commissary Ridge, where it crossed to the west side and descended to Ham's Fork by means of Beaver Creek. A large seasonal camp is said to have been located at the junction of these two streams (about four miles north of the Dempsey-Hockaday crossing of the Ham's Fork). It is probable that this trail continued south and utilized the Dempsey-Hockaday Cut-off to cross over to the Bear River country.¹¹

Numerous prehistoric archeological sites have been found and recorded on Commissary Ridge near the Dempsey-Hockaday Road, indicating the presence of hunting-gathering groups at a much earlier date than the contact period.¹²

Lander's Cut-off (to be mentioned in greater detail below) followed portions of an Indian trail over Thompson's Pass about 9-10 miles north-northeast of the Dempsey-Hockaday Road to cross the Wyoming Range into the Star Valley. What is described as the "Star Valley trail, at one time the important trail of the Shoshoni and Bannock Indians,"¹³ crosses the Wyoming and Salt Ranges via Marsh Creek, McDougal's Gap (six miles north of Thompson's Pass), the John Gray's River (Greys River), Sickle Creek, and McDougal's Pass to the Salt River and Star Valley.

In 1810, John Jacob Astor dispatched two expeditions bound for the mouth of the Columbia River to establish the headquarters for an envisioned chain of trading posts stretching from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean. The first expedition traveled by sea and founded the headquarters settlement of Astoria in April, 1811. The second party was led overland by Wilson Price Hunt, who was attempting to find a more direct route than that traversed by Lewis and Clark. The Hunt party crossed portions of present-day Wyoming, passed through the Big Horn

Mountains and turned south to the Wind River. In the vicinity of Dubois, they followed a well-worn Indian trail into the Wind River Mountains and crossed over the range at what later became known as Union Pass. The party then turned south in search of game, eventually reaching Beaver Meadows about 10 miles north of Daniel, Wyoming.¹⁴

The Hunt expedition traveled northwest (along the general route of today's Highway 187-89) to the Snake River. Attempts to navigate the Snake River Canyon were unsuccessful, and they left Wyoming via Teton Pass, crossing into present-day Idaho. Their subsequent route west of Henry's Fork of the Snake River became part of the western portion of the Oregon Trail. Hunt's group was the first to record their trip through Wyoming.¹⁵

An east-bound party returning from Astoria in 1812 under the leadership of Robert Stuart is credited with discovering the great South Pass of the westward migration. An Indian scout had told the party of a crossing at the southern tip of the Wind River Mountains. Seeing signs of a large party of Crow Indians in the area, Stuart turned south and camped a short distance northeast of Pacific Springs, later to become a welcome watering spot used during the westward migration. Phillip Ashton Rollins, who edited Stuart's original journal wrote:

Stuart, now well within the constricting western entrance to South Pass, was squarely on the main route of the subsequent Oregon Trail and but a scant two miles southwest from the spot which, when later covered by that trail, was called by its emigrant users the Summit of South Pass.¹⁶

Stuart continued eastward, following the general route of the Oregon Trail along the North Platte and Platte Rivers. Fur trappers soon adopted this route as a more direct means of reaching prime beaver country in what is now western Wyoming and eastern Idaho.

A passage from the *Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly* describes a South Pass crossing in 1849:

Persons generally have a very erroneous idea of this South Pass. It is generally supposed from its being called (a) Pass, to be a narrow pass, a place with high steep ragged, rugged, ugly, black, sharp, and threatening rocks on each side and above, with the steepest hills to ascend and the most dangerous to man or beast. You never formed an idea so far from the truth. The Pass is 19 miles wide and through a little valley. The ascent is so gradual that it is scarcely perceptible. We commenced ascending from our very start from the States, and we are now 9,000 feet above the level of the sea and coming to this point more than 1,000 miles would divide into a very imperceptible grade. The truth is, if you were not told, you would not know you were either in the Rocky Mountains or in the South Pass.¹⁸

Elizabeth Goltra crossed South Pass in 1853 and aptly described that gateway to the far west:

Thursday July 7th: How beautiful the sunrises and peeps over the hills to guide and cheer the weary traveler, 10 miles from camp and over a good road we glide almost imperceptibly through the *South Pass* (of the Rocky Mountains) hardly knew when we were through it was scarcely any ascent or descent.¹⁹

By the mid-1820s, portions of the future emigrant trail had been established, and the Rocky Mountain west was well known to a handful of bold trappers, traders and explorers. Popular interest had been aroused in the vast empire that lay west of the Mississippi by the tales of returning Astorians, explorers and mountain men.

As early as 1820, the possibilities of creating settlements on the Columbia River and the Pacific Ocean had been raised by a Congressional committee headed by Dr. John Floyd, which bore little result.²⁰ Oregon was unimaginably remote and represented more of a dream than a viable alternative for those discontented with their lot far to the east. Transporting family and belongings across a rugged, hostile and uncivilized continent seemed impossible. It remained for the mountain men to blaze a wagon trail across this wilderness, unwittingly hastening their own demise from the center stage of history.

In 1830, Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette took a caravan of wagons loaded with trade goods along the eastern portion of the future Oregon Trail as far as South Pass to the trappers' rendezvous. This group did not cross the pass but proved that the route was feasible for wagon migration to that point. The party felt that "... the wagons could easily have crossed the Rocky Mountains, it being what is called the Southern Pass, had it been desirable for them to do so ..."²¹

In 1832, Capt. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville led the first wagons across South Pass and beyond into the Green River Basin. Bonneville constructed a short-lived fort on the banks of the Green River a short distance west of the present-day town of Daniel.²²

The route to the Oregon country west of South Pass still utilized Teton Pass to reach the Snake River. "From the mouth of Henry's Fork, the Snake River was the natural, easy 'highway' to the Pacific Northwest."²³ This route involved a substantial detour north. According to historian Mary Hurlburt Scott, in 1832 William Sublette pioneered a direct route across the desert of the Big Sandy from South Pass, across the Green River Basin and through the Bear River Mountains to the Snake River country. The northern route never had been more than a foot or horseback trail and was unsuitable for wagons. Sublette's Road, therefore, became the first wagon-traveled Oregon Trail. It is on this portion of the route that the Dempsey-Hockaday Cut-off was formalized in 1854. What has come to be commonly accepted as the traditional Oregon Trail was south of the Sublette Road and passed by Fort Bridger. However, this post was not built until 1842-43,²⁴ and represented a substantial detour to the south. According to Mary Hurlburt Scott:

In summary: America, 1842, was on the threshold of a tremendous upheaval. The Pacific was known and the Oregon Trail up the Platte River and along the Sweetwater through South Pass, over Sublette's Road South (Sublette Cut-off), to the Snake and onto the Great Northwest was recognized by all. Oregon had a small population dating from 1811. Growth through 1832 was sporadic; it had been given

impetus in the 1830s. This was in the era prior to the founding of Bridger and the coming of the Mormons, and the eager gold seekers ... The trader, trapper and Indian had to adjust to the coming of men in vast numbers. The great rendezvous and the fur companies had had their day ... Oregon beckoned in 1842, one tide had receded—now the flood of emigration was to come.²⁵

This "flood of emigration" demanded alternate routes that could provide plentiful water and grass. One of the men credited with the blazing of the Dempsey-Hockaday Trail was John Hockaday. An experienced mountaineer and government surveyor, Hockaday had conducted a survey for Jim Bridger concerning land claims against Gov. Brigham Young and the Mormons who had taken over Bridger's fort on Black's Fork. The survey was completed November 6, 1853, and on March 16, 1854, a copy of the survey was filed with Thomas Bullock, Great Salt Lake County recorder.²⁶

In the spring of 1858, Hockaday and Liggett received the overland mail contract from Independence, Missouri, to Salt Lake City.²⁷ *Allan's Guide Book* (1859) states that Hockaday utilized Bridger's fort in reaching Salt Lake City.²⁸ The Dempsey-Hockaday trail would have been impractical for a Salt Lake City delivery.

Robert D. Dempsey received scant consideration in F. W. Lander's report to the government except in a compilation of estimated improvement costs:²⁹

Whole cost of work to turn off Hockaday's Cut-off and old road, twenty-five thousand dollars\$25,000
Purchase and repairs of the Hockaday and Dempsey bridge; with sum for rendering free the bridges at Smith's and Thomas' Forks\$ 6,000

In addition, Lander depicted the trail on his preliminary map of the Central Division (1857-58) and called it the "Dempsey and Hockaday's Road."

Dempsey was of Irish descent and born in 1832. He married an Indian woman, had five daughters and was living in Green River County, Utah Territory (near Fort Bridger), according to the 1860 census. Dempsey made his living as a trapper and fur trader, as well as trading with the military and the emigrants. Local tradition claims that he once resided on the east side of Commissary Ridge.³⁰ Modern maps show his name on Dempsey Creek and Dempsey Ridge in the immediate area. In addition, the Dempsey-Hockaday Road was called "The Dempsey Trail" on GLO township survey maps of the area.

Frederick West Lander's role stems from his appointment as chief engineer of the Fort Kearney, South Pass and Honey Lake Wagon Road in 1857. This project resulted from the continued efforts of California interests and western expansionists for the construction of an emigrant road to the West Coast through the intervening western territories. The Donner Party tragedy in the Sierra Nevadas in 1846 had emphasized that the existing Oregon-California Trail and its numerous variations represented a hazardous and exhausting trek fraught with severe hardships and often death.³¹

John C. Fremont introduced a bill in Congress in 1850 asking for "... the commencement of opening a common traveling road between the present Western settlements of the United States and the State of California."³² In 1856, California Senator Wilkins introduced a petition asking for a wagon road for emigrants that would also be used to aid in speedy mail delivery. Finally, on February 17 and March 3, 1857, Congress approved the construction of a number of wagon roads across the territories. Albert H. Campbell was appointed General Superintendent of the Pacific Wagon Roads.³³

The route was divided into three divisions. The first section from Fort Kearney to Independence Rock utilized the already established Oregon Trail and involved limited improvements. The central division crossed South Pass, the Green River Basin, and the Bear River Mountains to City Rocks. The third division extended west to Honey Lake Valley on the eastern boundary of California.³⁴

From South Pass, the emigrant could proceed southwest at "the parting of the ways" to Fort Bridger and then turn north and northwest to reach Soda Springs, Idaho, or he could proceed due west via Sublette's Road, or Cut-off. This route was much shorter but contained a waterless stretch in the Big Sandy Desert. Ultimately both routes arrived at Soda Springs. Lander's task was to find the most "practicable" route for a wagon road in this region. In Lander's mind, the term "practicable" was ambiguous and did not differentiate between the shortest and the best route for ox team migration.³⁵ As a result, Lander sent several survey parties into the region west of South Pass in the summer of 1857. B. F. Ficklin proceeded in advance to conduct a reconnaissance of the desert between the Big Sandy and Green River. J. F. Mulwony was dispatched to examine the shortest existing routes. These were the Sublette Cut-off and the recently discovered Dempsey-Hockaday Road.³⁶

Lander ultimately settled on a route that would skirt to the north of the dry country. It crossed the Green River far enough upstream that a ferry would be unnecessary for emigrant crossings. Thus, the Lander Cut-off was born.

During the winter (1857-58), Lander was made superintendent of all three divisions of the wagon road. The following summer he was back in the field building his new road and boasting that "... over 62,000 cubic yards of earth and rock had been removed, 11 miles of willow, and 23 miles of heavy pine timber cleared from the roadway." He wrote an emigrant's guide over the winter and posted a man at South Pass to divert the emigrant flow to his road during the 1859 season.³⁷

Lander's original intention was to divide the migration by improving various routes so that grass and water on any one trail would be conserved. There is no evidence, however, that the Dempsey-Hockaday Trail was ever improved. J. F. Mulwony's report to Lander on the reconnaissance of the shortest existing routes suggests why

the Sublette Road and the Dempsey-Hockaday Cut-off were neglected. Mulwony states:

From the forks [the parting of the ways] toward Crow creek, (a small stream so called at the base of the Bear mountains,) it is mainly an elevated table land, a smooth surface of alluvial deposits, mixed with fine sand and gravel, of arid and sterile appearance, and yielding nothing but stunted sage. In crossing this desert, both man and beast suffer from the long, tedious marches, without water or grass. The wheels of the wagons sink deep into the dusty soil, and the hauling is slow and hard. The strong winds which prevail here during the summer months sweep the level plains, whirling the loose deposits into dark clouds, obscuring the sight, and filling both eyes and nostrils with dust. The hot, dry air parches the lips and throat, and even makes respiration difficult.

This waste, therefore, has long been known as one of the most dreaded parts of the road travelled in crossing the Rocky mountains. Of the several routes across it I consider none worthy of improvement. . . .³⁸

A more negative analysis could hardly be imagined. Mulwony felt that the only way to divide the emigration and utilize the existing routes across the Big Sandy Desert would be to sink wells across its expanses. Otherwise he felt that Lander's new northern route was far superior.³⁹

It was found that Lander's Cut-off also had serious drawbacks involving its river crossings. Funds were sought to construct bridges over the New Fork and Green Rivers, but the impending Civil War diverted Federal attention from this project.⁴⁰

Emigrant journals and guidebooks described the obstacles encountered by wagon trains in the vicinity of the Sublette Road and the Dempsey-Hockaday Trail. Numerous emigrant guides became available as the migration progressed, but Joseph E. Ware's guide (1849) was the first attempt to consolidate information about the trail in journals, newspapers and military accounts. In fact, Ware relied heavily on John C. Fremont's Report (1845). Ware himself had never traveled the route.⁴¹

Ware recommended the Sublette Road over the Fort Bridger route. Although the trail description is brief, his advice concerning the desert crossing, considered the route's greatest drawback, is informative:

The road to the right is an old trail [referring to the parting of the ways]. The present road is carried some 70 miles out of direct course, by passing Fort Bridger. When you cross the Dry or Little Sandy, instead of turning to the left and following the river, strike out across to the Big Sandy, 12 miles. If you get to the river along through the day, camp till near night. From the Big Sandy to Green River, a distance of 35 miles, there is not a drop of water. By starting from the Sandy at the cool of day, you can get across easily by morning. Cattle can travel as far again by night as they can during the day, from that the air is cool, and consequently they do not need water. Recollect, do not attempt to cross during the day.⁴²

W. Wadsworth gives a more detailed description in his *National Wagon Road Guide* (1858) of the western portion of the Sublette Road, giving names and distances between drainages. He also mentioned the elusive trading

post in the vicinity of Ham's Fork for which present-day local historians are still searching:

A few miles before reaching this point [Ham's Fork], a road branches to the left by which you can reach the beautiful meadows and this river sooner than by the main road, and where there is an Indian trading post. By this route the distance is increased about one mile, and you avoid one bad hill.⁴³

The reference to an "Indian Trading Post" is interesting, as local tradition claims that a trading post was located on the Dempsey-Hockaday Road just after crossing Ham's Fork heading west. Wadsworth's description appears to indicate it was located near the Sublette Road. In addition, Mrs. Bynan J. Pengra mentioned a trading post on Ham's Fork in her journal of 1853:

... Our roads have been very hilly, and we had had a great many deep gutters to cross which are very trying to wagons [sic] and teams. One of our old oxen is very lame. Bynan has been to a traders post a little distance from where we are camped which is near the Second Branch of Green River, [Ham's Fork] to see if he could make a trade, has found one that he thinks of taking [sic].⁴⁴

Geiger and Bryarly talk of encountering numerous hills and valleys as they approached Ham's Fork (they were crossing the lower Wyoming Range). Their steepest ascents and descents here would have involved Meridian Ridge and Oyster Ridge. Crossing on July 6th, they state:

Every ravine is still filled with snow, which accounts for the unusual supply of water, and convinces one also of the terrible winter that has just past. This is now in July when everything is burnt up at home, while here we can indulge in the innocent amusement of snow-balling. . . .⁴⁵

Describing Ham's Fork:

Owing to the very affectionate endearings, whisperings and communings of the mosquitoes, we were easily aroused this morning and made a start by daybreak. We descended a very steep hill immediately, at the bottom of which we found considerable of a creek. This is called Ham's Fork. It empties into Bear [Green] River, and from this is called one of the feeders of the Colorado.

The road after crossing turns to the left and runs down the valley 1 ½ miles and then turns again to the right up the steepest hill we have yet ascended.⁴⁶

Historian Mary Hurlburt Scott, concerning the later years of the Oregon Trail, maintains that it is a popular misconception that the trail was no longer used after the coming of the transcontinental railroad and commercial stage routes. There were periods of peak migration such as the initial California gold rush and the Mormon migration to Deseret, but it is unreasonable to assume that migration on the trail and its cut-offs suddenly dried up.⁴⁷

Scott sets a date of 1912 as the last sighting of covered wagons making the trek to Oregon (seen on the Lander Cut-off). Scott cites numerous examples of late emigration from journals and letters in the post-1880 era. Settlers in the Ham's Fork area as well as sheepherders noticed considerable wagon migration over the Sublette Road and the Dempsey-Hockaday Cut-off in the 1890s and early 1900s. According to Scott:

John Beachler, Sr., Kemmerer, Wyoming, writes that in July, 1897, his family traveled the Oregon Trail from Pendleton, Oregon, to Cokeville, Wyoming, and Rock Creek or Nugget, where they took the Dempsey Detour of the Sublette Road past the Emigrant Springs and the rockworn road about 25 miles east of Kemmerer, forded the Green River at the mouth of Slate Creek, and followed the east side of the river to Green River City. They met at least 200 covered wagons traveling west, and a few others traveling east like themselves.⁴⁸

In addition, Louis Jones of Kemmerer, Wyoming, who herded sheep on the Ham's Fork Plateau, stated: "In 1901 and 1902 I saw covered wagon trains which took all day to pass. This occurred many days all summer long."⁴⁹

The environs of the Dempsey-Hockaday Trail today are essentially the same as that seen and experienced by 19th century emigrants crossing in covered wagons. Very few structures exist along the route except for a log homestead near a spring at the eastern foot of Dempsey Ridge. The trail is represented by an unimproved two-track through sparsely populated ranching country where emigrants in slow-moving wagon trains have been replaced by light, four-wheel drive vehicles and local ranchers whose grandfathers may have traveled the historic Dempsey-Hockaday Trail.

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2. U.S., Congress, Senate, *Report Upon the Pacific Wagon Roads*, S. Exec. Doc. 36, 35th Cong., 2nd sess., 1858-59, p. 31.
3. Peter M. Laudeman, "Historical Trails Management Plan, Rock Springs District, Rock Springs, Wyoming," (unpublished report for the Bureau of Land Management, 1979), p. 28.
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 23. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
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 44. Charlotte Pengra, *Diary of Mrs. Bynan J. Pengra, 1853*, (Eugene, Oregon: Lane County Pioneer-Historical Society, Inc., 1970), p. 38.
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BOOK REVIEWS

The Oklahoma Petroleum Industry. By Kenny A. Franks. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980). Index, Illus. 284 pp. \$17.50.

Franks' history covers a wide variety of oil activities ranging from early explorations in the Indian Territory of Oklahoma, through the Twenties and the World War II years. It includes comments on oil-connected government regulations, technology, and the services of many outstanding Oklahoma oil men.

Although deposits of petroleum were known to exist in Oklahoma for many years, their development in the early part of the 20th century touched off a great mineral rush to the state and area. It was at this time that the demand for petroleum products increased and the problem of transporting crude oil to refineries and potential markets was overcome.

Franks points out that the maturing of the state's petroleum industry marked a significant transformation of that area's economy. Before such fabulously rich finds as Red Fork and Glenn Pool, Oklahoma's economic base rested on agriculture—farming and ranching were dominant.

The great influx of wealth brought about by the exploitation of the huge deposits of crude laid the foundations for many financial and industrial institutions that were to become vitally important to the state's future. From this time onward, Oklahoma was never the same. Oil had an impact on practically every aspect of the state's culture and economy.

As transportation improved and more markets opened up, Oklahoma grew to be one of the nation's great petroleum producers. The twenties and thirties, a turbulent era in America's history, saw more and more enterprising young men join the oil rush.

Such men as Frank Phillips, J. Paul Getty, William G. Skelly, H. H. Camplin, Erle P. Halliburton and E. W. Marland launched Oklahoma oil operations that even-

tually circled the globe. Technological innovations generated by these men, revolutionized petroleum production on a worldwide basis and greatly expanded the industry.

Franks has provided the reader a personal dimension on these outstanding individuals by pointing out their philanthropies. The Oklahoma Petroleum Council's Outstanding Oil Men have indeed benefitted the state by their contribution to cultural, academic, and technological causes.

Many Wyoming residents will find this book of special interest. One point stressed in the book and worthy of note to readers in the Equality State touches on petroleum related industries. It reads:

Although the production, processing, and marketing phases of the Oklahoma petroleum industry have poured hundreds of millions of dollars into the state's economy and provided tens of thousands of jobs for its citizens, even more money and opportunities for employment have been provided by companies allied with the oil industry. Perhaps one of the best examples of this economic coalition is the Halliburton Services, an oil field service firm with headquarters in Duncan, Oklahoma. When they founded the business during the oil boom in the early twentieth century, Erle P. Halliburton and his wife, Vita, started with the help of a single employee, hired on a daily basis. Ultimately, the firm was so successful that in 1977, it employed more than 13,000 people and 'led the world as an oil field services organization.'

Actually, a complete history of the oil industry in Oklahoma would require several volumes. This is but a single volume and as a result, many incidents and individuals have not been included. It is an attempt, however, to capture a part of Oklahoma's oil legacy and those individuals who made it possible.

The author has drawn on previous histories and relied extensively on oral history interviews with pioneers. Franks is the director of education in the Oklahoma Heritage Association and an editor of the Oklahoma Horizon series. He knows whereof he speaks. He has authored several books and many articles on Oklahoma.

His most recent work on the petroleum industry is indeed a fine work, done with attention and perhaps, a little affection for an important facet in his state's history.

ED BILLE

The reviewer was Wyoming News Director for 39 years with the Pacific Power and Light Company. He is the author of Early Days at Salt Creek and Teapot Dome, recently reprinted.

The Horse of the Americas. New edition, revised and enlarged by Robert M. Denhardt. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975). 343 pp. Illus., paper, \$8.95.

The title of this book is misleading. A more accurate title could read *The Spanish Horse of the Americas*. The author tells an interesting story of the development of an excellent light horse in Spain during the 700-year domination of that country by the Moors. He then proceeds to paint a verbal picture of the transport of these horses to the Americas in small Spanish galleons in the late 1400s and early 1500s, of the breeding of these horses in the West Indies, and of the dominant role played by them in the conquest of Mexico and Peru, and in the ill-fated expedition of DeSoto into what is now the southern part of the United States.

The story of the Spanish horse in North America continues to unfold with the settlement of New Mexico, Texas and California. From these settlements the Spanish horse was acquired by and dispersed throughout the North American west by various Indian tribes. These same settlements, according to Denhardt, provided the English colonies with prime horse flesh via institutionalized horse stealing routes.

Denhardt next describes the dispersion of the Spanish horse throughout South America, and he ends his book with a discussion of the various breeds today in North and South America that in some way developed out of the Spanish horse. Thus, his discussion of North American breeds focuses on the Quarter horse, the Mustang, and various color breeds such as the Palomino and the Appaloosa.

The book completely ignores the draft horse breeds and draft-grade horses that supplied the power in the 19th century to mechanize the farming sector of the North American economy, that moved much of the heavy freight between urban markets during the period 1750-1850, and that moved all the heavy freight within cities and towns in the 19th century. The ubiquitous carriage, or buggy, horse of the 19th century is not mentioned. The popular light horse breeds of today—Arabian, Morgan, Tennessee Walker and Saddlebred—are barely mentioned. The Saddlebred and Tennessee Walker, for example, are not even listed in the index, and the Thoroughbred horse and the

acing industry of the 20th century are relegated to a line or two. In short, the non-cowboy horse does not exist for Mr. Denhardt.

The reader interested in the development of the modern 'western' breeds of horses will, however, find this book easy to read, informative and filled with fascinating historical tid-bits. And the reader will probably be surprised to learn of the unique role played by the Spanish horse in the development of the 'western' breeds of North America.

WILLARD W. COCHRANE

The reviewer is the owner and manager of a fine Morgan horse ranch in northern California. He is a retired professor of Agricultural Economics.

Old Navajo Rugs: Their Development from 1900 to 1940. By Marion E. Rodee. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981). Illus., Notes. Bib. Index. 113 pp. \$25.

The beauty and intricate designs of Navajo blankets and rugs have long been admired in America. In *Old Navajo Rugs*, Marion E. Rodee offers interesting reading to public and private collectors of Navajo weaving. Sixteen excellent color plates and over 70 additional photographs enhance this concise guide to the dating and identification of Navajo rugs. Primarily, this book focuses on the innovations in patterns, styles, and weaving materials which were brought to the Navajo by a number of individual trading post operators in the Southwest during the first half of the 20th century. Included here are examinations of the influence of C. N. Cotton, J. B. Moore, George Bloomfield, Lorenzo Hubbell, Mary Cabot Wheelwright and the changes they fostered in the weaving techniques of the Navajo people of different regions.

Rodee comes well qualified to her task. She is currently Curator of Collections at the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico where she also teaches. Moreover, she has clearly done a fine job of research in museum collections scattered throughout the country and particularly in the Southwest.

Rodee's expertise in her field is evident as she cites several important points of which potential buyers should be aware before purchasing Navajo rugs. In particular, she repeatedly emphasizes the close attention that must be paid to fabric. She points out quite correctly that design and color, alone, are not adequate criteria for dating. Styles that were woven in the mid-19th century are still used occasionally today. In Chapter Three, Rodee explores the different breeds of sheep and varying types of wool which were used during successive periods of Navajo weaving. Close attention to fibers, she argues, is crucial to the accurate determination of a rug's origin. This sort of detailed information is the chief asset of Rodee's book

and will, no doubt, be of special use to private collectors who are increasingly turning to 20th century samples of Navajo weaving as 19th century pieces become more rare and expensive.

There are a few problems within this book, however, which should be mentioned. First, there exists an incredible amount of detailed information contained in far too few pages. The casual reader who has little background knowledge of this subject will probably be put off by the machine gun dispersal of facts. As Rodee gets caught up in her subject which she knows so well, her pages begin to read more and more like a technical journal. Second, while this book provides much information about Navajo rugs, what about the Navajo weavers? The people who worked for months to produce the complicated designs so prized by Anglo buyers are only shadowy figures in this study. Though Rodee does make a few general references to some periods in Navajo history such as the forced confinement by the U.S. Army at Bosque Redondo in 1864, by and large the reader is left to wonder about these individuals and their society.

Despite these reservations, *Old Navajo Rugs* must be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the growing number of books and articles on Navajo weaving. Though she cites few sources in her text, the author provides a useful, but by no means complete, bibliography at the end of her study for interested readers who wish to obtain further information. While perhaps too narrowly focused to be of interest to the general reading public, Rodee's book is a beautifully illustrated source of detailed and concise information for collectors of Navajo rugs woven in the first half of this century.

DEBORAH WELCH

The reviewer is a graduate student in history at the University of Wyoming.

The Mormon People, Their Character and Traditions.

Thomas G. Alexander, editor. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1980). Charles Redd Monographs in Western History No. 10, 127 pp., paper \$6.95

The Mormon People, Their Character and Traditions does not claim to be definitive. Rather it consists of a series of lectures presented through the Charles Redd Center at Brigham Young University. Dr. Alexander's editorial comments give readers good direction about what the lectures are and their relevance to each other and the larger picture of late 19th century Mormonism. Readers are cautioned that the data are not complete.

However, this is a useful and interesting book for students of Mormon history. Dr. Bennion's analyses of the census data of 1850, and 1880 particularly, reveal a

great deal about who, meaning Mormons, church leaders, Gentiles, and Indians, were living where and what both their geographical and numerical distributions were.

Most challenging is Thayne's look at Mormonism as the setting for the serious artist, particularly the poet and writer. She provides superior insight into the struggling believer's ventures into individual comprehension, so essential to poetry of worth, but often perceived as so risky to both the writer's and her readers' faith. Thayne herself feels there need be no ultimate disharmony. While she leads us toward the mountain's top, where our view of our home is breathtaking, we never really get to look beyond the valley (faith) in which we live. She does not help us see over the mountain with its other vistas.

Professor Kunz does an excellent job of sorting out the misconceptions about polygamous marriages in Utah. His statistical analyses give us one of the more accurate pictures of who was involved, where they came from, how many were polygamous, and where they fit in the social and economic structure of late 19th century Mormondom. Readers are told that the primary reason behind the practice (by about nine percent) of these Mormons was religious conviction. It was church leaders mainly who responded to the call.

Derr's history of the Primary fills a gap in Mormon institutional history. She notes the important roles of Eliza R. Snow, Louie F. Felt, and May Anderson, especially in the launching and development of primary programs. The influence of the kindergarten movement and graded public education is shown also. Derr notes that the domination of women's leadership wanes as the modern era approaches, where the "priesthood" leaders assert more direct guidance for its programs.

Finally, Mark Hamilton provides an unusually insightful delineation of symbolism and iconography on the Salt Lake Temple. The details of sunstones, moonstones, Saturn stones, star stones, remind readers again of how all-inclusive the hand of God or ways of God were perceived to pervade everyday life of 19th century Mormons. Many readers will walk again around Temple Square to see if all that iconography is really there.

This is a useful book, that does what the editor hopes, to add to our understanding of late 19th century Mormonism.

MELVIN T. SMITH

The reviewer is director of the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978. By James E. Murphy and Sharon M. Murphy. Foreword by Jeannette Henry. (Nor-

man: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981). Appendices. Bib. Index. 230 pp., \$14.95.

This volume represents a rather useful introduction to the history of American Indian journalism. The authors' primary interest is in the 1960s and 1970s. More than half of the book is devoted to this era and it is this portion of *Let My People Know* that probably will be the most valuable to its readers.

James Murphy and Sharon Murphy, professors of journalism at Southern Illinois University, have taken on a challenging assignment. It cannot be doubted that they have done their homework in a conscientious manner. As Jeannette Henry notes in her lengthy foreword, they have tried to write a book long overdue in its publication and they have sifted through a great many publications of past and present in order to provide us with this survey. *Let My People Know* has its shortcomings, but we cannot fault its authors for lack of effort.

The Murphys make an honest attempt to give a comprehensive overview of contemporary Indian journalism. In separate chapters they catalogue what they term agency publications, national publications, tribal and intertribal publications, regional papers, magazines and specialized publications, broadcasting in Indian country, and the movement toward media associations. When combined with an appendix containing a directory of American Indian print and broadcast media, the descriptions will acquaint the reader new to the field with the names and general characteristics of various Indian journalistic enterprises. Western librarians, people involved in Native American studies programs, journalism students, and others will find such listings a real service.

For the more general reader, *Let My People Know* speaks to the enduring nature of Indian life. The very existence of such an array of publications underlines not only the need for Native American perspectives in print, but as well the continuing, indeed growing Indian presence in this country. Although this book sometimes emphasizes Native American problems at the expense of Indian achievements, it demonstrates that far from vanishing into the mainstream, many Indians are maintaining modern, adaptive identities.

The variety of Indian identities in fact leads to a central dilemma which the authors have only partially resolved. Just as authors of Native American histories confront the multiplicity of tribal, regional and national experiences, so, too, the Murphys have had to contend with a staggering number of cases in point. In their valiant endeavor to be comprehensive, they have not been able in 160 pages of text to be detailed in their analysis. Except for a few major examples, it seems as though no sooner than one publication is cited, it is time to move on to another newspaper. Some of the difficulty lies in the difference between journalism and history. The authors are not historians, as their choppy style and their

continual use of the passive voice make clear. In any event, the evolution of various publications, let alone an estimation of their strengths and weaknesses, generally is neglected. The *Navajo Times*, for example, merits a whole page (a lion's share of attention in this book), but we learn little of its internal dynamics, the role of White and Navajo editors at different points in time, and so forth.

In addition, the historical portion of the book is too limited. Oklahoma Indian publications gain most of the attention. Pan-Indian and individual efforts such as the journal of the Society of American Indians and Carlos Montezuma's *Wassaja* are mentioned only in passing and such Indian school papers as the one published at Carlisle are not discussed at all.

For the contemporary period, the influence of Jeannette Henry is very much present. The book's title is derived from the subtitle of Henry's and Rupert Costo's *Wassaja*. The Indian Historian Press gains more complete and more favorable scrutiny than any other venture. While Henry and Costo have been important figures in Indian journalism, they and their publications deserve as critical an examination as any others. Unfortunately, they do not receive it.

PETER IVERSON

Dr. Iverson, a specialist in American Indian history, holds the Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin. He is an associate professor of history at the University of Wyoming.

The Compassionate Samaritan: The Life of Lyndon B. Johnson. By Philip Reed Rulon. (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1981). 300 pp. Cloth, \$21.95. Paper, \$10.95.

So much has been written about President Lyndon Baines Johnson that you may wonder what more can be said so soon. Professor Philip Reed Rulon adds a much-needed dimension to the fund of public knowledge of our 36th President.

Three men were inspirations to Lyndon Johnson: his father, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Sam Rayburn. Much of what this book is all about flows from the years and events, the philosophy and the inspiration, of FDR in the formative, political age of the young Lyndon Johnson. Coincidentally, this review is being written at the moment of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

What is especially refreshing in Professor Rulon's volume is its strong focus on the spirit of compassion, the deep commitment to public education, and the conviction that "the little people" deserve the best that education can provide and the new opportunities that "the right to be educated" can offer.

With all the prose of the many writers who have detailed the legislative skills, the endless political battles so effectively waged, and the disillusionments and frustrations of the Vietnam era, it is timely to rebalance all with a sense of perspective in the life of a great American whose own public career focused particularly and tirelessly on the educational opportunities of his fellow man.

As Senate Majority Leader, Lyndon Johnson literally engineered breakthroughs in enriching and broadening the public educational opportunities for the young. To be sure, to get it started he launched it through a "Defense Education Act," and he culminated his efforts while President with the passage of sixty, separate education bills covering the entire horizon of educational opportunity.

I do not wish to suggest in this short review that the author was blind to the darker years, particularly in the latter 1960s, of LBJ's public service, but only to suggest that this biography is well-rounded and refocuses on the substantive contributions of the tall Texan in a way that achieves a better sense of balance in evaluating the man's impact on his country.

The reader will be rewarded by the interesting footnotes and new anecdotes flowing from the hyperactive life and drive of Lyndon Johnson, accompanied as they are by the constant presence, efforts, and counsel of Lady Bird. Together they gave new meaning to the White House—a flavor of gentle humanity rarely matched. The President said it best in his own way:

"We seek for all our people expanding opportunity . . . a Nation where no one is forgotten, where the young have faith and the aged have hope, and the least stand equal to the greatest."

As a Wyoming footnote, Professor Philip Rulon's biography of Lyndon Johnson will remind many Wyomingites of the close working relationship of their own Senators in Washington with the 36th President of the United States.

When the young United States Senator from Texas received his first important chairmanship at the beginning of the Korean War in 1950, he was assigned the task of overseeing the funding of the war crisis developments. One of his key members on that committee was the new Senator from Wyoming, Lester C. Hunt, who had stepped from the governorship to his Washington post. His service on the Johnson group was one to which LBJ often referred.

By the mid-1950s Lyndon Johnson's strongest efforts focused on new educational opportunities and, in particular, his crusade for civil rights. The watershed legislation was the Civil Rights Act of 1957 which was made possible, in the words of LBJ, by the parliamentary skill of one Senator, Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming.

And because of the then-Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson's debt to Senator Joe, he visited Wyoming for his first time to promise the people that if they would send to Washington that "young, history professor, Dr. Gale

McGee," he would place him immediately on the all-powerful Appropriations Committee, an unprecedented act in behalf of an uninitiated freshman Senator. Wyoming did, and he did.

The coincidence of these events led to a deep and abiding friendship between this writer and the President spanning nearly two decades.

Finally, Governor Joe Hickey of Wyoming was a key floor leader at the 1960 Democratic National Convention for the LBJ presidential drive. Even though John Kennedy won, Vice President Johnson never forgot his debt to Wyoming's then-junior Senator, Joe Hickey. It was not long after that President Johnson saw to it that Governor-Senator Hickey received the coveted appointment to the Federal judgeship of the Tenth Circuit Court.

These events involving Wyoming's Senatorial delegation for nearly twenty years re-emphasize not only his dedication to accomplishing deeds for his fellow man and "the little people," but also focus on his undying loyalty to those who helped him along the way. And it was on more than one occasion that Lyndon Johnson visited the Equality State and remarked upon the hospitality of his fellow Westerners in Wyoming.

GALE W. MCGEE

The reviewer is a former U.S. Senator, Ambassador to the O.A.S., and professor of history at the University of Wyoming. He is presently a consultant living in Washington, D.C.

Custer and the Little Big Horn: A Psychobiographical Inquiry. By Charles K. Hofling. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981). Index. Bib. Notes. Illus. Maps. 118 pp. \$15.95.

For over a century the name and exploits of George Armstrong Custer have remained before the public. In this study a new tool—psychobiography—is employed to help gain further understanding of his disaster on the Little Big Horn. The author is a trained psychiatrist who chaired the American Historical Association Task Force on Psychohistory a few years ago. As such he is well qualified to write this book.

He traces the controversies surrounding the Little Big Horn defeat briefly, and then turns his attention to shifting the layers of conflicting statements about the battle. After devoting three chapters to a factual narrative of what happened he raises a series of 20 questions about Custer's odd behavior and military blunders. According to Hofling, Custer was too good an officer to have made so many mistakes unless serious problems clouded his judgment. He then says that the Little Big Horn defeat is understandable only when one answers the questions: "What was interfering with Custer's personal effectiveness? That is, what was preventing him from func-

tioning smoothly, from making better decisions, from exercising his full capacities? What was leading him to move headlong into a doomed situation?"

To answer this he examines Custer's personal life, focusing on his childhood, Civil War experiences, post war years on the Plains, and his marriage and family life. According to Hofling, Custer suffered from a *narcissistic personality disorder* of medium intensity. In addition, however, the author points out a series of rash and self-destructive actions which spanned Custer's career. The pattern of these actions is so clear that from it Hofling infers a strong unconscious sense of guilt which caused Custer to spoil his successes repeatedly with rash actions shortly afterwards. These acts were part of a broader series of drastic ups and downs in the general's career, that were unusual only in their severity. He suffered through a cyclic pattern of shame-avoiding, glory-seeking actions, and then his unrecognized guilt feelings led to another self-destructive episode.

The final thesis in the study is that Custer had difficulty dealing with older men. Thus, General Terry's kindness toward him upset his usual responses, stimulating Custer's self-defeating, guilt phase and confusing his thinking and decision-making abilities. This is discussed more clearly in the book than here, and offers a convincing look at Custer's planning and actions on the campaign trail.

Much has been written about George Custer and the Little Big Horn campaign. This excellent study gives a framework into which the reader may place much of what is known about that series of events. The book neither praises nor damns Custer. Rather it looks at why he did the things which have seemed so unexplainable to so many for so long. This is psychobiography at its best. The patterns emerge early, affect the subject's life, and may be used to help understand what are otherwise strange and contradictory actions. Although brief, this book should become a major part of recent Custer literature. In the best of all possible worlds it might even discourage most future authors from continuing the chiefly pointless debates about this unfortunate man.

ROGER L. NICHOLS

Dr. Nichols is a professor of history at the University of Arizona, Tucson.

The Battle for Butte, Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906. By Michael P. Malone. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981). Notes. Illus. Bib. Index. 217 pp. \$17.95.

The mining frontier in the trans-Mississippi West has attracted the interest of numerous historians, photographers and writers of fiction. Unfortunately their attention was riveted to the colorful search for gold and silver

and tended to ignore or slight the less romantic but equally important development of a base metals mining industry. Recently a number of scholars have attempted to fill the historical void. Richard Lingenfelter, James Fell, Mark Wyman, Ronald Brown and Joseph King studied the economic, business, labor and political aspects of the copper and lead frontiers of the mountainous West. When added to other works on Lake Superior iron ore and western coal we are at last getting a balanced understanding of the integral role mining played in the American frontier experience.

Michael Malone, historian and administrator at Montana State University, adds a significant volume to western economic literature. He has not written a history of the copper mining community of Butte, Montana, but a detailed account of the economic and political struggle to control a major mining district. This is not a romanticized, moralistic account of good and bad copper kings, instead it is a story of strong personalities and the institutions and forces that affected them. Copper mining required huge outlays of capital for concentrators, smelters and refineries. This, in turn, created great rivalries that quickly spilled over into the political arena and local courts.

Miners were initially attracted to western Montana in the early 1860s by readily accessible gold deposits. The rush lasted no more than a decade and by 1870 had collapsed. Butte resembled hundreds of dilapidated mining towns whose resources had quickly played out and whose population had moved on to the newest diggings. When, several decades later, active mining returned to Butte it followed a pattern familiar to metal mining regions from northeastern Minnesota to Utah and Arizona. Control of the major ore bearing properties was transferred from local pioneers to shrewd merchant-financiers who moved in during difficult times, and with capital and administrative ability, developed the principal deposits.

Anaconda, astutely managed by Marcus Daly, towered over other Butte companies. It was a huge, vertically integrated firm that also owned hotels, farmland, rail lines and commercial property. "The Anaconda loomed over Butte, and over Montana itself, like a monstrous leviathan whose every twist and lurch became a life and death concern." Throughout the 1890s the firm survived shifting financial control that briefly included the European banking Rothschilds before returning to Boston and New York speculators and withstood the impact of the panic of 1893 and four subsequent years of depression (a period of falling copper prices and 20,000 unemployed Montana residents, mostly miners). The eastern financiers inevitably consolidated their Montana holdings and created Amalgamated Copper, with Anaconda the core ingredient.

In 1901 the anti-consolidated forces, led at first by William A. Clark and then by F. Augustus Heinze (the latter described as a workingman's man who spent considerable time underground with his miners) launched a

legal campaign that involved a bewildering number of properties and issues. When the courts ruled in Heinze's favor, Amalgamated retaliated with a complete shutdown of its Butte operations, putting tremendous pressure on miners and state officials. Their tactic worked and Heinze eventually sold out to the Consolidated. The agreement involved dismissal of 110 law suits, eliminated Heinze as a major force in Montana mining or politics and ended the struggle between independents and the copper trust. It also demonstrated "the extent to which this remote, thinly populated, much-abused mountain commonwealth had become a pawn in the world of capitalistic intrigue and manipulation." The author believes this ugly image of corporate domination is the most burdensome legacy of the battle for Butte.

This is a complicated tale of entrepreneurial rivalry, legal entanglements and strong individuals. Malone threaded his way through the maze of events in superb fashion. This is a story that will attract the interest of residents who still live with the aftermath of the events and economic and business historians who will appreciate the effort put forth by the author. General readers will thoroughly enjoy the all too brief description of Butte's colorful society. It was a community that struck visitors with its desolation, ugliness and pollution. Yet Butte enjoyed a richly cosmopolitan population dominated by the visible contrast between Irish and Cornish families. The former were Catholic Democrats whose lives revolved around the parish church and school, while the latter were more often conservative, Republican and Methodist. The awesome strength of labor unions also played a significant role in the life of Butte's residents. I wish the author could have expanded this delightful section, perhaps catching the flavor of Watson Parker's recent study of Deadwood, South Dakota. This brief quibble aside, Malone has made a significant contribution to western mining history.

DAVID A. WALKER

David A. Walker, visiting professor of history at the University of Wyoming, is a regular instructor at the University of Northern Iowa (Cedar Falls). He authored Iron Frontier, The Development and Early Years of Minnesota's Three Ranges, a study of the beginning of the iron mining industry and a story similar to entrepreneurial rivalry and legal entanglements of Butte.

Mormonism and the American Experience. By Klaus J. Hansen. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981). 257 pp. \$15.

Mormonism and The American Experience is too ambitious a book for such a small volume. Still Klaus Hansen gives us a remarkable look at Mormon history in the context of the larger American scene. His book presents a series

of careful syntheses of already complex syntheses of both Mormon and American social and religious thought. The author may have presumed a sophistication in his readers that few will have. Nevertheless, serious Mormon history students will be amply rewarded by the author's erudite treatment of several seminal issues.

Hansen believes Mormonism resulted from the coincidence in America of a religious people who needed a spokesman and the appearance of Joseph Smith. To explain the prophet, Hansen ranges widely, offering options that include Smith's religious genius, bicamerality, and other psycho-history insights. The author's purpose is not to determine whether "Mormonism" is true or false, but rather to discover what it is and how it fits in American history.

"Mormonism and American Culture" reviews colonial society and the Age of Jackson, with a focus on the religious perceptions of the times. As the new American character was evolving, Hansen shows how Mormonism became a specific plan that offered the ultimate hope for "dislocated" people. They could become gods in eternity as well as rulers in America's democracy.

"The Mormons Rationalization of Death" is one of the book's best chapters. Mormonism reduced the fear of death, by placing mankind in eternity as both pre-existent and post mortal beings. People could love openly without fear that death was a final separation. An important secondary impact was the turning of the hearts of "fathers" to the children who were no longer "little strangers" whom parents feared to love too much because the pain of death would be too great to bear.

The chapter on "The Kingdom of God" indicates the impact of millenarianism on Mormon thought and behavior. Mormons moved from hoped-for homogeneity in Joseph Smith's day to pluralism and statehood by the 20th century, where their distinctiveness was sacrificed on the altar of acceptability. Twentieth-century Mormonism became 100% Americanism or more.

"Changing Perspectives on Sexuality and Marriage" reviews Mormonism's ties with earlier Puritanism. Sex was an acceptable element in God's kingdom. Polygamy symbolized the Mormon's hope of a new heaven and a new earth. For Protestants it meant priesthood oppression and sin. Eventually Mormons would similarly see sex as sin.

His sixth chapter, "The Transformation of Racial Thought and Practice," traces Mormon attitudes through acceptance, discrimination and acceptance of Blacks. Those forces playing on these changes included prophetic declamation, scriptures, and scholarship, with the "revelation" in 1978 providing that all worthy males could hold the priesthood.

No brief review can capture the significance of this kind of book. It requires careful, thoughtful scrutiny to comprehend the complex of meanings in Hansen's weaving of ideas, concepts and movements of American and

Mormon history that helped make both of them what they are today. His bibliographic essay and careful footnoting complement this excellent work. Still this reviewer cannot overlook one error of fact on page 194, since his own grandfather, a son of Samuel H. Smith, *also* came west in 1848, and produced a sizable progeny.

Though Hansen's is not an easy history to read or to accept wholly, it is a superior work which deserves serious scrutiny by serious students of Mormon and American religious histories.

MELVIN T. SMITH

The reviewer is director of the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

The West and Reconstruction. By Eugene H. Berwanger. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981). Appendix. Bib. Index. 255 pp. \$19.50.

When students of history view the Reconstruction era, those years following the Civil War that saw political, social and economic upheaval, they normally consider the southern states and their readjustment to secession and military defeat. Little emphasis has been placed on states west of the Mississippi River not directly affected by the war or its aftermath. Even western historians who briefly discuss the military action disregard Reconstruction. Eugene Berwanger, professor of history at Colorado State University, has ignored that trend and presented a detailed examination of the years 1865-1868 in the trans-Mississippi West.

Berwanger believes that restoration of the former Confederate states and the extension of legal equality to Blacks were major political concerns to western residents. Between 1865-1868 the region, including states and organized territories from Minnesota to California, overwhelmingly supported the Republican Party and congressional leadership. Reconstruction dominated newspaper editorials, political speeches and private correspondence, sources thoroughly examined by the author. National government policies did play a stronger role in areas that were more populous, politically mature and in telegraphic communication with the East. The birthplace and background of residents provided some locally varied opinions and profoundly influenced individual reaction to social and political issues. After 1868 westerners began to resent lawmakers' attention focused on the South to the detriment of their own regional problems. They showed little interest in economic issues that seemed to have no impact on their lives: inflation, recession and green-back monetary policy. In California, Oregon and Washington, for example, land reform and Chinese immigration took precedence.

President Andrew Johnson attracted some support in the West when he astutely appointed many local residents to territorial government positions. Western Democrats openly supported the President hoping to be rewarded with patronage, but most officials were veterans, Unionists and moderate Republicans. Johnson's stature began to diminish, however, when he vetoed the Freedmen's Bureau bill, an action seen as capitulation to southern aristocracy. Westerners feared that former slaves, inexperienced in the political arena, would be abused by scheming whites. Regional political observers also disapproved of the President's failure to handle national problems harmoniously, his paranoid style of leadership, his inability to build support at the grass roots level and his inflexible decisions.

Western reform spirit was not widespread. The political parties differed in their approach to voting rights. Democrats said that suffrage would lead to undesired social equality and that their opponents wanted to eliminate all racial distinctions. Republicans, on the other hand, believed that suffrage in the states and territories was a local matter and should not be imposed by outside authority. The ensuing struggle produced varying results. Minnesota Republicans openly advocated voting rights for all men. The only successful campaign by Blacks for equal suffrage occurred in Colorado Territory. The victory was short-lived, however, when Johnson vetoed a statehood bill in 1866 and left the area with white voting. Wyoming was the only place that never legally restricted participation in the legislature; Blacks voted from the territory's creation in 1868, as did women. William Jefferson Hardin was the first black legislator, serving from 1879-1882.

Berwanger devotes an entire chapter to western involvement in and reaction to Johnson's impeachment. Central focus is placed on Kansas Senator Edmund Ross, the only western resident among seven Republicans who voted to acquit the President.

Once again party affiliation produced varying opinions. Democrats took a strong stand against impeachment but carefully avoided defending Johnson, whom most considered a political liability. Initially Republicans urged moderation but the more inflexible Johnson became the more they supported impeachment. Berwanger believes this change also reflects a growing distaste for the whole Reconstruction process. Historians also reflect a diverse opinion. Until the late 1950s many portrayed Senator Ross as fearless and highly principled, a "profile in courage." Recently some scholars believe he sold his vote for patronage. Berwanger takes a stand between these extremes. The reasons for the Senator's vote were complex, but part of the decision was a concern for his own political future. Ross clearly gloried in his prominent position.

This is an excellent contribution that broadens our understanding of the complex postbellum years. It is something of a companion piece to the author's earlier work, *The Frontier Against Slavery* (1967). The scholarship

is solid, the writing lucid. Berwanger tapped a prodigious variety of sources from throughout the West, including personal papers, government records and documents and over 160 newspapers. An appendix shows western Congressman's votes on 17 key Reconstruction issues during the 38th, 39th and 40th Congresses. The book should attract those interested in western, Reconstruction and political history. All who read it will benefit from the new dimension on a turbulent and controversial period in American history.

DAVID A. WALKER

The reviewer, visiting professor of history at the University of Wyoming, is a professor at the University of Northern Iowa (Cedar Falls). He is completing a co-authored book for Meckler Press entitled A Biographical Directory of American Territorial Governors.

The Remembered Earth, An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature. Edited by Geary Hobson. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981). Brief biographical sketches of contributors. 417 pp. Cloth, \$14.95. Paper, \$9.95.

Geary Hobson, a versatile Cherokee-Chickasaw on the faculty of the University of Arkansas, Little Rock, states his premise in the introduction to his anthology: "Heritage is people; people are the earth; earth is heritage. By remembering these relationships—to the people, the land, the past—we renew in strength our continuance as a people." The 73 contributors whose work he has chosen are scattered through the United States, Mexico, Canada, Hawaii and Alaska; and they represent various tribes with different cultural backgrounds. Even so, they have the same concerns and reverence for the land.

In "Remembering the Earth," Hobson begins with a brief account of N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa), Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux), Dee Brown and others who created a "literary flurry" (1968-1970) which in the last ten years has become a renaissance. The "fad" for Native American literature did not "just happen," he explains, but it evolved over countless generations by means of oral tradition.

"In remembering," Hobson states, "there is strength and continuance and renewal throughout the generations." He feels that the amazing thing is not how many tribes and members of tribes were eradicated by European expansion on this continent but how many remain and how much they have retained of their traditional beliefs and values.

Their recorded literature began in the early 19th century with Christian converts. The first novel written by a Native American in her own language was published in the 1830s. During the early reservation period, Native American literature was chiefly in the form of biographies

and autobiographies. In the 20th century we find D'Arcy McNickle (Salish-Kootenai), novelist; Will Rogers (Cherokee), newspaper columnist; and Lynn Riggs (Cherokee), playwright. The young writers of today are beginning to receive recognition for their prose and poetry.

In his essay, "The Rise of the White Shaman as a New Version of Cultural Imperialism," Hobson writes at length about the neo-romantics who "play Indian" and the self-styled "shaman" or shamans. He calls them a counterpart of "the Indian crafts exploiters, the imperious anthropologists and the buffalo hunters." Adrian C. Lewis (Paiute) begins his poem, "The Psuedo Shaman's Cliche," with:

"I sit in lotus position
on a throne of dandelions
in the early spring park."

In conclusion, he makes a point.

"A man should build pyramids
and not talk to flowers."

The years have done little to mellow the prevailing attitude of the American Indian. Ingrained bitterness, even hatred, is shown in "Homage to Andrew Jackson," by Norman H. Russell (Cherokee):

"May you, after 140
years, still fry
in your own
coonskin hell, . . ."

Wendy Rose (Hopi-Chowchilla Miwok) reacts justifiably to a museum invoice which reads: "19 American Indian skeletons valued at \$3,000." She says:

"It's invoiced now:
how our bones are valued.
Our bones that stretch out pointing
to sunrise or are flexed into one last
foetal bend; our bones—removed
piece by piece and knocked about, catalogued,
numbered with black ink on
their newly white foreheads. . . .
From this distant point
we watch our bones auctioned
with our careful beadwork, our
quilled medicine bundles, even the bridles
of our shot-down horses."

Not all of the selections are as profound. Some concern animals, birds and insects; others love, family, ancestors, the aged, prayer, drinking, dancing and—AIM.

The displaced tribes consigned to Indian Territory formed a warm affection for Oklahoma, translated as "Red Land" or "Red People," which to Hobson's way of thinking are synonymous. Other settings for the prose and poetry in his volume include: Tucson, Oraibi, Albuquerque, Gallup, San Diego, as well as the potato fields of Idaho. In "Dragon Mountain," a selection of special interest, Robert L. Perea (Oglala Sioux) takes the reader to the Central Highlands of Vietnam.

Historical events, such as "the falling of the stars" (1833), Sand Creek and Wounded Knee are discussed. The mythical character Ko-sahn, who came to Moma-

day (in "The Man Made of Words") from the written page, indicates that "there is no distinction between individual and racial experience, even as there is none between the mythical and the historical." This is far from the non-Indian point-of-view.

Hobson's belief that the white man can no more understand the nature of the Native American than the Indian can the white would seem to exclude much of his reading public. On the contrary, it should challenge readers to discover what the modern Indian is thinking and to try, at least, to understand.

In an "Old Prophecy," Robert L. Conley (Cherokee) epitomizes Indian-white relations.

"It came in various forms
from the Creek
& the Navajo
but the message is always clear
white men will come
(they did)
they will take the land
(they did)
they will nearly destroy the People
(they tried)
they will waste the land
(they have)
then they will go away
(we wait)

VIRGINIA COLE TRENHOLM

Mrs. Trenholm is a well-known author and authority on the American Indian. She wrote The Arapahoes and co-authored The Shoshonis.

Old Bill Williams, Mountain Man. By Alpheus H. Favour. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981). Index. Bib. Illus. Maps. 234 pp. \$11.95.

William Sherley "Old Bill" Williams, mountain man and part of the legend of the American West, was born January 3, 1787, in Rutherford County, North Carolina. His father, Joseph Williams, after service in the Revolutionary War, moved his family west of the Mississippi River to the Spanish-controlled area near St. Louis.

As young Williams grew up, his attention was naturally drawn to St. Louis, then the center of the fur trade and the distributing point for trading and trapping west of the Mississippi. He early abandoned his first calling as an itinerant preacher and self-appointed missionary to the nearby Osage, married into the tribe, and largely adopted its customs. By 1817 he was serving as interpreter at the Fort Osage trading post, trapping, and trading with the Osage and later the Kickapoo. In 1825 Williams signed on with Major George C. Sibley's party as interpreter and guide to survey a trade route to Santa Fe and stayed with the expedition until he reached Taos.

Williams' life from his arrival in the Spanish settlements in 1825 for the next 15 years is shadowy. He

roamed the mountains and plains of the West, hunting, trapping, trading and living with various Indian tribes, principally with the Ute, into which tribe he was adopted. We catch glimpses of him—"odd fragments of descriptions," as the author says—from such men as English army officer George Frederick Ruxton; Colonel Frank Triplett, who recorded some of the mountain man's exploits; and Albert Pike, who hunted with Williams about the headwaters of the Red River in Texas in 1832. He became known as "Old Bill," even when a relatively young man, and frequently preferred to live and travel by himself. A master trapper and hunter, Old Bill Williams grew to epitomize the American mountain man, a group the author believes played an instrumental role in hastening American westward expansion.

Williams at various times in his career was associated with many well-known Western figures, including John C. Fremont. He served as guide and interpreter for the ill-fated fourth Fremont expedition, during which Fremont allegedly disregarded the advice of Williams and other seasoned mountain men on the route the party should follow over the Rockies on its way to California. A number of the expedition died of cold and starvation; survivors cached their belongings and finally arrived at Taos in January of 1849. Old Bill and a companion were killed in March of that year by a band of southern Ute while trying to retrieve the party's baggage and equipment.

Alpheus H. Favour's biography of Bill Williams, first published in 1936, has lost none of its stature and appeal. It is well researched and documented, with attached bibliography; the footnotes, particularly those on other mountain men of the period, are of special interest. The historical background for Williams' life will help the general reader to better understand the importance, not only of Old Bill, but of all mountain men, to the development of the American West.

PAT GASTER

The reviewer is editorial assistant, Nebraska History, the official publication of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln.

Knights of the Broadax: The Story of the Wyoming Tie Hack. By Joan Trego Pinkerton. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1981). Illus. 198 pp. \$6.95.

Knights of the Broadax describes a neglected aspect of Wyoming history, the timber industry. It is an ethnography of a type of lumber industry, the making of railroad ties, that was particularly suited to Wyoming. Wyoming did not have the dense and accessible forests of large boled trees to support a full blown construction lumber industry. *Knights of the Broadax* chronicles one example of tie industry

that took place throughout the forests and rivers of Wyoming since the coming of the Union Pacific Railroad. For example, other tie operations took place near Afton, Buffalo, Saratoga and had river runs down the Green, North Platte, Snake and Big Horn Rivers and their tributaries. However widespread of an industry throughout Wyoming, it never became an important economic mainstay for the state.

Knights of the Broadax takes a personal view of timber camp life. It introduces the reader to tie hacks, the lumberjacks that made railroad ties, who came to Wyoming from Scandinavia and from other timber operations in the midwest. *Knights of the Broadax* documents the social aspects of the tie hacks, or their forms of recreation, diet, customs and behavior. The author, Joan Trego Pinkerton, grew up at the Wyoming Tie and Timber Company's headquarters near DuNoir, Wyoming. Her book is a child's eye view of the timber operation augmented by later research. She befriended many of the tie hacks and remembers them in vivid, anecdotal detail.

A unique facet of *Knights of the Broadax* is its wealth of documentary photographs. One half of the book is photographs of varying quality. In one sense *Knights of the Broadax* is a photographic essay, the text and photographs are so well integrated. The photographs add much to the book, they are well captioned and help keep the text on an objective bent. The understandable tendency of Pinkerton is to be nostalgic about the Wyoming Tie and Timber Company's operations. The photographs help her to resist this romanticizing tendency. Instead, what is related is a personal and yet highly objective view of a tie camp that operated for almost four decades. Nor does Pinkerton shy away from describing the unsavory aspects of a tie hack's life.

Knights of the Broadax describes a particular timber industry adapted to Wyoming conditions, but which also falls in the mainstream of lumber camp tradition. Customs, stories, and technology documented in this book occurred throughout the lumber producing states at this time. For example, the housing situation and silence that reigned in the camp cookhouses were the same in Wyoming as they were in the lake states or in the Pacific Coast lumber camps.

Knights of the Broadax chronicles a time of change for timber technology and "timber beasts." The period of labor intensive operations were giving way to mechanization and specialization. The hand hewn ties were later sawed by portable saw mills. The advent and widespread use of the chain saw would come on the heels of the Wyoming Tie and Timber Company's operations near DuNoir in the 1940s. Other forms of mechanization such as hauling logs by truck would replace the water power of rivers and elaborately constructed flumes.

An interesting asset of *Knights of the Broadax* are the local character anecdotes Pinkerton relates about the tie hacks. The tie hacks were colorful individuals. The

numerous anecdotes depict the tie hacks as being stoic, full of chicanery, gullible, stubborn, rustic, having off-beat talents, and periodic binge drinkers. Like any local character anecdote, exaggeration is a common characteristic in these stories.

Because of heavy winter snows the group of tie hacks and few family members at the Wyoming Tie and Timber Company's operation became a *de facto* community. *Knights of the Broadax* is a local history of a snow bound community and an ethnography of a Wyoming occupational culture. Besides all this, it's highly enjoyable and quick reading.

TIMOTHY COCHRANE

The reviewer is oral historian in the Historical Research and Publications Division. A graduate of the University of Montana, he holds the M.A. degree in folk studies from Western Kentucky University.

The Chronicle of a Willson Family. By Patricia Anne Willson Whitehead. Volume I. (Denver: Privately Printed, 1981). 310 pp. Available from the author.

As any genealogist who has researched any length of time can tell you, colonial family histories are not hard to find on a library shelf. Family histories dealing with mid-1800s and western families are indeed rare! Being oriented to both family history and the West, I doubly enjoyed my book review assignment.

The author has used her imagination in the unique design of her book. This is not a skeleton of family names and dates; rather a gentle guide through the lives, loves, and dreams of the Willsons of Como, Ill., Davenport, Iowa, and Niobrara County, Wyo.

This family was most fortunate to have the "saving" type progenitor. Letters spanning 1839-1890 are enclosed within a designed page with special type; a feature that makes the reader immediately aware of their individuality. Patricia then expands and explains parts of the letters, and often the results of the correspondence.

The letters written during the Civil War brought the reader's thoughts into sharp focus with the times and trials of brothers and sons. Letters of sympathy over the death of William told of the longing to be near, and left no doubt of the spirit of togetherness within the family. Throughout, the reader is struck by the knowledge that the family always helped and were concerned for the well-being of the others. Some were destined to live far apart, but they always kept the thread of communication intact.

A letter from a son, Gene, to inform all of his intention to "leave for California (or some where else)" is the important first step west for the family. Gene did not make it to California. There was something about Wyoming that held him here.

From early 1870s until the Willson Ranch was established, the Willson brothers, George, Gene and Ed interwove themselves into many facets of our Wyoming history. Early descriptions of events and places in Wyoming, particularly, Cheyenne, tickled the reviewer. One of Gene's first employers was with the Heck Reel Ranch. (Reel was the mayor of Cheyenne, a legislator and a notable figure in our early history.) All three brothers came to regard the Valley Ranch owned by Henry G. Hay and John Thomas as a second home. Like many of our early pioneers, the Willsons were a versatile group. They earned money for cowboying, freighting, logging, and whatever means were necessary to earn a dollar and survive in this raw country.

In the late spring of 1880, Eugene filed a squatter claim "where the springs form the headwaters of the Niobrara (or Running Water) River, which later in its course becomes the White River." Hard work followed. On November 1, 1880, he landed the "first band of sheep to graze in what is now Niobrara County." The family stayed in the sheep business until 1916 when open range was curtailed. The flock was sold for \$12.50 per head and the Willsons went into the cattle business.

The homestead cabin was built on an established Indian trail. Letters home tell of the periodic visits from the red man. Many early Wyoming pioneers are mentioned in letters to family "back east."

Chapter 27, "Running Water Romance" was a delight. How special these pages will be for future generations—a lively account of "Grandma and Grandpa's Courtship!" Gene Willson and Isabel Mack were married at Chadron, Nebraska, July 23, 1890—almost on the day Wyoming became a State! This chapter ends Volume I.

Patricia has taken the time to write footnotes on each chapter, a bibliography, and most important, an index. These are so valuable to the serious genealogist and will make the book more appealing to family members.

It would, however, improve the book to include printed pictures of the Willsons and their homes; a real treat to see the image of those who "wrote about" or were "written of" with such affection. Also inclusion of these generations Family Group Sheets would make quick, handy references for the researcher who needed a name, date, or relationship. This would save the time of going through the narration.

The last line of this volume states, "More of this Willson story is to come,—it is already in the making."

I'm glad! And, I look forward to reading what Patricia has put together to bring the Willson Family to present day.

SHARON LASS FIELD

The reviewer is director and compiler of the Wyoming State Historical Society Cemetery and Grave Inventory Project.

The Stage. Drawings by Joseph Deaderick, edited by Victor Flach. (Laramie: University of Wyoming, 1977). Illus. List of plates. 128 pp. \$12.95.

The Stage, a volume of drawings in a limited hard-cover edition of 100 and 500 soft bound copies by Joseph Deaderick, Professor in the Art Department at the University of Wyoming.

The book, produced by the University of Wyoming's Office of Research, includes 96 black on white pen and ink drawings, edited and a prologue by Victor Flach, also of the U. W. Art Department and an epilogue by Joy Deaderick, a dancer and the artist's wife. Printed by the Modern Printing Company, Laramie, Wyoming, with grant funds from the University of Wyoming, the book is in nine-by-twelve-inch format and consists of 128 pages.

The drawings are indicative of Deaderick's interest and activity as a set and lighting designer for dance, theatre and opera productions. They also reflect his personal philosophy that it is the nature of characters on life's stage to mask their true selves from each other, protecting by not revealing their inner thoughts and feelings that are constantly changing in relation to the roles they find themselves playing in life's drama. The drawings were apparently Deaderick's visual translations/interpretations of theatre experiences as they relate to the greater experience of life. The drawings appear to be cold, calculated, intellectualized references, devoid of warmth and sympathy for the human condition.

JOHN BUHLER

The reviewer is a former director of the Wyoming Council on the Arts.

The Coloradans. By Robert G. Athearn. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976). Index. Illus. Maps. 430 pp. \$15.

Six years ago, the American Bicentennial ushered in a joyous nation-wide, year-long celebration. This extraordinary event either inspired or provided the impetus for the commissioning of symphonies, books and artworks. However, in these few brief years since that event, some of those works have faded into well deserved obscurity while others hold the promise of becoming and enduring legacy. Robert Athearn's book aspires to the latter category.

The author was inspired by the American Bicentennial to write this selective social history of Colorado. Athearn chooses to begin his tome not with the millenniums of Indian dominance nor with the period of Spanish exploration. Instead he opens the work with the Colorado gold rush of 1859. He then gives the reader a panorama

of time, events and people ending with the beginning of the current Colorado energy rush in 1976. In these intervening pages, ethnic groups, women, charlatans and ordinary people are depicted as they played a role in the formation of the tapestry called Colorado. This is accomplished through a galloping narrative sprinkled with vignettes of the mineral, agricultural and tourist industries. The rapidly moving narrative discusses religion, politics, economics and morals in a light and entertaining manner.

Despite the breadth of scope, the book is not designed as a definitive history of Colorado. Rather it blends ephemera and substance together in portraying Colorado's cultural history. In this regard, significant historical events are occasionally dismissed with a fleeting reference while trivial occurrences are dwelt on. This does not tarnish the richness of Colorado history, but crowds the book's pages with great amounts of material. Thus, many a provocative topic is treated only superficially.

This crowded narrative ends in 1976 where the author recapitulates his main points and prognosticates on the future of his state. This makes the book slightly dated as events have now overtaken the narrative. The many facets of the energy boom, the emergence of ethnocentrism, and the first faltering steps toward a regional theatre are all developments since the bicentennial year. Still the work provides a sound foundation on which others can build.

JOHN C. PAIGE

Paige is research historian with the National Park Service in Colorado.

Great Surveys of the American West. By Richard A. Bartlett. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962). Index. Illus. Bib. 410 pp. 3rd Printing, 1980. \$9.95.

Originally published in 1962 and now in its third printing, this fascinating book chronicles the adventures and contributions of a remarkable group of men who, unfortunately, are relatively unknown. While most school children, especially those in Wyoming, would quickly recognize the names and exploits of James Bridger and other mountain men, how many adults, let alone school children, would be able to identify the likes of Ferdinand V. Hayden, Clarence King, John Wesley Powell or George M. Wheeler? Yet these men made major contributions to the knowledge of the American West. Professor Bartlett, now Professor of History at Florida State University, became interested in these surveys as a child prowling the foothills of the Rockies northwest of Boulder, Colorado.

The Great Surveys described by Bartlett occurred in the 1870s almost simultaneously. At times they duplicated one another's efforts and that led to their replacement at the end of the decade by the United States Geological Survey. Though each of the surveys had its own agenda to accomplish, together the surveys provided useful topographical, geological, and biological information that serves as a basis for much of what we know about the West today. Each survey was led by a man with unique training and personality. Hayden was a medical doctor whose party's work contributed to the creation of Yellowstone National Park; Clarence King, aristocrat and friend of Henry Adams, launched the exploration of the fortieth parallel; John Wesley Powell was a self-taught geologist known for his exploration of the Colorado River system and proposals for rationally settling the arid West; and finally, George M. Wheeler, a West Point graduate whose survey of the land west of the one hundredth meridian was oriented toward practical use by the military, but a thrifty Congress, seeking to create the U.S.G.S. and eliminate duplication of effort, killed this survey in progress.

In covering each of those four disparate surveys, Bartlett excels in providing a sense of the danger and of the dullness that was part of each expedition. The reader is with Clarence King while Apaches stake him and a comrade on the sand to be burned by the sun; but, just as in a "B" movie, a cavalry unit comes to the rescue in the nick of time. The reader also accompanies King and his entourage as they trudge across the desolate wastes of the Humboldt Sinks with only momentary distractions provided by an occasional Indian.

Each of the book's four parts concentrates on one of the Great Surveys and each begins with a brief biographical sketch of the survey leader. These sketches allow the reader to know how each of these surveyors came to lead an expedition. Hayden, for example, earned a doctorate in medicine but studied paleontology and geology informally. When he finished his formal medical studies in 1853, the opportunity came to go west and assist his paleontologist mentor collect samples, and Hayden forever abandoned the practice of medicine for geology. From that point on he prepared for the day he would lead his own survey. The opportunity came in 1867.

Bartlett also provides glimpses of others on these expeditions who were to make names for themselves. William Henry Jackson was, of course, Dr. Hayden's photographer and much of his best work was done while accompanying Hayden. Robert Ridgway, as a sixteen-year-old youth, accompanied King's survey and ultimately became curator of birds at the United States National Museum.

Unlike the mountain men whose discoveries were passed on by word of mouth, the surveyors were scientists committed to systematic exploration and to the recording and publication of their findings. The latter made

their work more valuable than that of the mountain men. Even though they were not always right, as Professor Bartlett carefully points out, they did lay the basis for an understanding of the American West's natural history.

As is apparent, this reviewer enjoyed the book; however, a potential reader should be aware that there are some deficiencies. Bartlett, for example, does not examine in depth some of the political chicanery involved in the funding of the various surveys. Nor does the book attempt to place the surveys into historical and intellectual context as does William Goetzmann's *Exploration and Empire* published nearly a decade later. Finally, the reproduction of the photographs is only mediocre.

Twenty years ago Professor Bartlett led the way in examining the Great Surveys. The book remains a fascinating, valuable study.

DAVID KATHKA

Dr. Kathka is Dean of Academic Affairs, Western Wyoming Community College, Rock Springs.

Cowboy Culture: A Saga of Five Centuries. By David Dary. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981). Photographs. Notes. Bib. Index. 384 pp. \$17.95.

In 1494 the Spaniards introduced stallions, mares, and cattle to the Western Hemisphere. *Cowboy Culture* chronicles the rise and decline of the cowboy from those antecedents in New Spain to celluloid imagery of today. Surveying several centuries, David Dary depicts the cowboy of the American West as the product of a long evolutionary process. *Cowboy Culture* views the vaquero of New Spain, equipped with horse, saddle, lariat, bandanna, knee breeches, spurs, and a specialized vocabulary, as the progenitor of future laborers in the cattle industry. From New Spain, writes Dary, the cowboy gradually moved northward to Mexico, California, Texas, and, ultimately, the northern plains. In the generation following the Civil War, reports Dary, the cowboy reached his apex as railroad construction opened new markets for cattle. By 1900 settlers brought an end to the open ranges, and the cowboy declined in importance. Although this volume ignores working cowboys in the 20th century, a brief epilogue explores contemporary mythology surrounding the cowboy.

Cowboy Culture is essentially a narrative. Dary provides considerable information about the livestock, clothing, tools, tasks, physical environment, qualifications,

and recreation associated with the cowboy. Detailed commentary, for example, appears of stratagems for cutting earmarks on cattle. In general, however, Dary eschews consideration of issues that fuel historiographic debate. Even culture, the perspective Dary employs to examine the cowboy, receives no precise definition. Dary defends his imprecision by observing that "how the term (culture) is defined usually depends upon those who are asked to define it" (p. xi). Moreover, *Cowboy Culture* frequently substitutes analogy for analysis: "... the horse acted as a tonic for Indians. It widened their horizons, much as a teenager's first automobile widens his." When interpretation does intrude upon description, it sometimes provokes rather than persuades. Dary, for instance, contends the "cowman ... was isolated from what then passed for civilization. Perhaps that is why nearly all cattlemen in Texas were honest."

Dary's treatment of the cowboy fails to fully establish the latter within a macrocosmic context. The Mesta Code of New Spain, Mexican independence, Manifest Destiny, the Civil War, emigration, and improved transportation receive some attention, but shadows obscure other germane phenomena. Discussion of wealthy cattlemen during the late 19th century, for example, fails to probe for values shared with other Gilded Age entrepreneurs. The relationship between Social Darwinism and labor practices in the cattle industry remain uninvestigated. Quantification apparently contributes little to Dary's often impressionistic generalizations about social and economic mobility in the West. Muted attention to race and ethnicity leads to neglect of the Black cowboy. And a brief discussion of the image of the frontier in the American mind omits the ideas of Frederick Jackson Turner.

Despite caveats sufficient to discourage specialists, the general reader will enjoy *Cowboy Culture*. David Dary, a teacher and practitioner of journalism, writes well. His notes suggest familiarity with a plethora of journal articles, monographs, autobiographies, diaries, newspapers, and physical artifacts. Possessor of a lucid prose style, Dary elicits admiration for his ability to select pithy quotations and telling anecdotes. Profusely illustrated with appropriate photographs, drawings, and maps, *Cowboy Culture* will impart to the general reader much empirical data about cowboy lifestyles. Perhaps no other volume dealing with the same subject matter exceeds the scope of *Cowboy Culture*. Knowing little about the Spanish and Mexican origins of the cowboy, the lay public will acquire a broader perspective from Dary. Although *Cowboy Culture* lacks the nuance and analytical rigor valued by professional historians, the general reader will find it interesting and informative.

WILLIAM SIMONS

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Gray S. Hopkinson

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The function of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department is to collect and preserve materials which tell the story of Wyoming. It maintains the state's historical library and research center, the Wyoming State Museum and branch museums, the State Art Gallery and the State Archives. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and art and records of early businesses and organizations as well as artifacts for museum display. The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens to secure these documents and artifacts. Department facilities are designed to preserve these materials from loss and deterioration.

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ABOUT THE COVER—Glen Hopkinson painted the untitled work featured on the cover of this issue. A Wyoming native, Hopkinson first became interested in painting when he was a child. His father, Harold, is also a noted Western artist and Glen learned art techniques from him. In 1971 Glen was awarded the Bachelor of Fine Arts degree from Brigham Young University. He studied with Don Putnam in California and the late Bob Meyers in Cody. The 35-year-old artist has exhibited his work in art shows throughout the West. His one-man show was on display for nearly two months at the Wyoming State Art Gallery in 1975. He now lives and works in Cody. The painting is in the permanent collection of the AMH Department's State Gallery.

ANNALS of WYOMING

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**"The Thrillin'est
Fight Ever!"**

The Sheridan Post.

NO. 10 SHERIDAN, WYOMING, THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 1902

PRICE, 5 CENTS



... EVERYBODY COME ...

This is the opportunity for all North Wyoming to make

The Great Gala Day of the Northwest

In The Land of Sunshine and Promise

Iowa's Best Band

27 Gold Medal Artists

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18 Indian Boys

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Polo

War Dances Etc.

1000 Indians in Native Costumes in Daily Parade

Grand Reproduction of the CUSTER BATTLE. With Government and State Troops and the Scouts and War Chiefs who were near the Scene

Sheridan Post, June 19, 1902.

Sheridan Re-enacts Custer's Last Stand

Custer's Last Stand—the battle of the Little Bighorn—meant many things to the northern plains region in 1876. Most obviously, it offered a sobering check on the expansionist ambitions of white cattlemen and others moving onto Indian lands in the northeastern Wyoming-southeastern Montana area. It sent a thrill of horror running through the regional press, summed up in the Bismarck, D. T., *Tribune's* fretting headlines of July 6: "What Will Congress Do About It? Shall This Be the Beginning of the End?"

The answer to the second question, the next few months confirmed, was a resounding yes: it was the beginning of the end of Indian resistance on the northern plains. Before the year was out, on December 1, 1876, the officer in charge of construction of the Tongue River Cantonment recorded in his diary, "Truly the Yellowstone Valley is open to civilization."¹ His judgment, optimistic at the time, proved completely accurate.

But even in 1876, Custer's Last Stand was something more than an isolated Western event. It was, quite simply, a sensation, and occurring as it did at mid-point in the nation's Centennial Year (news of the disaster reached the East just two days after the Centennial Fourth), it generated a storm of political and military controversy and gave birth to an American myth. Custer's Last Stand became an "epic of defeat," a mythic embodiment of the clash, as contemporaries put it, between savagery and civilization that had been part of America's story since white men discovered the New World and that, by 1876, with the United States an independent nation for 100 years, was winding down into a pathetic mopping up operation devoid of either drama or glory. Suddenly, defeat had restored the drama, and the totality of defeat the glory. Custer's Last Stand became a tale of superb heroism in the face of overwhelming odds. It became a magic moment of reaffirmation of those Anglo-Saxon virtues that had tamed a continent and made America great. It was larger than its particulars, larger than the controversies that surrounded its participants, larger than its times. Poets, painters, novelists and dramatists have always been responsive to its appeal, and in turning to it for inspiration for over a century now have firmly entrenched Custer's Last Stand in the national mythology.²

Hard on the heels of those who found inspiration in defeat were, predictably, others who recognized that the legend defeat engendered a chance to make money. In turn, they propagated the myth they were exploiting. Among these enterprising souls, promoters of tourism to

the northern plains stand out. They have always been aware of Custer's Last Stand's wild and woolly allure. By the 1890s, railroad lines with access to the battlefield area were actively promoting it as an essential stop on any Western tour. It was "worthy a pilgrimage from a distance," according to the *Northern Pacific*,³ while the Burlington distributed a little pamphlet reprinting a New York reporter's reaction to a battlefield visit:

... my eyes rested on the little white marble sentinels which marked the steady, compact advance, and on every hero's cenotaph I seemed to see carved the word, "Duty."

The lesson is there for all who may read—a lesson which will be ever remembered by the brave men of our regular army. . . . The requiem of the winds over the graves there can never be sadder than on that golden evening when I turned my back upon this battlefield, at once the most pathetic and most mysterious of all that our sun shines on.⁴

For those who could resist *their* patriotic duty to ride the railroads west to Montana or Wyoming, local promoters were prepared to offer a further inducement: a show, a gala extravaganza, a full-scale re-enactment of the battle featuring real live Indians.

Montana, of course, held claim to Custer's Last Stand by virtue of geography. The battle was fought there, and *in situ* commemorations had to recognize that fact. Annual anniversary observations and commemorative activities, which reached a peak with a massive turnout estimated at between 40-50,000 people for the semi-centennial exercises in 1926, took place on the battlefield proper. But the nearest towns, Crow Agency and Hardin, could not handle large crowds of visitors; the only centers in the area with adequate facilities were Billings and Sheridan. Billings had the advantage of being in Montana, but Sheridan was just as close to the battle site. Thus when local promoters chose to augment the formal commemorative activities by staging sham battles of their own, both towns laid claim to the principal attraction of what was becoming known in tourist literature as "Custer Country."

As early as 1891 Crow Indians put on a Custer's Last Stand re-enactment of sorts within a mile of the battlefield, but the first recorded full-scale re-enactment on Montana soil pitting whites and Indians took place in 1909 when a company of the Montana National Guard from Billings re-fought the Last Stand against a party of Crows right on the battlefield. Since then, re-enactments have been an accepted feature of Montana tourism, and there were times during Montana's territorial centennial, in 1964, when the battle was being re-created simultaneously at two different locations in the state. Strangely, that same

By Brian W. Dippie



HEAVY COLLECTION AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UW

"Crowds on the hill watching the spot." Commented the Sheridan Post for July 10, 1902: "The immense mass of humanity arrayed along the hill side north of the battle-ground yesterday, was

the most picturesque sight imaginable. It furnished food for the innumerable camera fiends."

year visitors to the Dakotas could have seen re-enactments both in Mandan, North Dakota, and Hot Springs, South Dakota—a reminder that South Dakota, too, had laid claim to a slice of the Custer pie back in 1909 when the battle was reproduced daily from October 4-9 as part of Pierre's Third Gas Belt Exposition. And this claim had been reconfirmed in 1927 when a re-enactment of the Custer Battle entertained President Calvin Coolidge at the Deadwood Days of '76 celebration.⁵

How about Wyoming? The boosters of the Sheridan area were as busy stirring up interest in Custer's Last Stand as any of their counterparts elsewhere during the first three decades of this century. Herbert Coffeen's little magazine *Teepee Book*, published in Sheridan from January, 1915 through 1916, was particularly active in publicizing the 40th anniversary observance in 1916; and the *Teepee Book's* special Custer Battle number, commemorating the occasion, was expanded and reprinted to become a popular memento of the semi-centennial observance ten years later. Indeed, Sheridan was one of the official semi-centennial "headquarters," and the *Sheridan Post* that June boasted that Sheridan's own Orpheum Theater had been given the privilege of premiering at popular prices a major film about the battle, *The Flaming Frontier*, starring Hoot Gibson and a cast of thousands.⁶

More than once, it should be added, stories appearing in the Sheridan papers left the distinct impression that Sheridan was not only within convenient distance of the Custer Battlefield, but that the battlefield was actually

located in northern Wyoming! In vying for the tourist dollar, all's fair after all. But Sheridan's boosters successfully pulled off a feat several years earlier—in 1900, to be precise—that entitles Sheridan to claim the honor of being the first town in the West to stage a re-enactment of Custer's Last Stand. The idea of reproducing the Last Stand was old hat even in 1900: a "sensation play" exploiting the battle was running in New York City by mid-August, 1876—and Buffalo Bill's Wild West had been staging its own version of *"The Battle of the Little Big Horn, Showing with Historical Accuracy the scene of CUSTER'S LAST CHARGE!"* more or less regularly since 1887. But there is no record of any Western town sponsoring a re-enactment of the battle before the enterprising promoters of Sheridan's first Mid-summer Carnival in July, 1900.

The *Sheridan Post* for June 21, 1900, devoted half of its front page to an advertisement for the carnival to be held July 3, 4 and 5. Featured attractions were to be a daily balloon ascension by Professor L. N. O'Dell and a grand fireworks display each evening. Horse and bicycle races, polo matches, baseball games and shooting exhibitions were on the schedule; Western fare included roping and tying exhibitions, a street parade, an old settlers reunion, an Indian encampment, and war dances. But the real treat was set for the afternoon of July 4th, "the Repetition of the Custer Battle between State Troops and Indians . . . on the ridge east of the city." No contemporary accounts of this sham battle have been located,

but the *Post* did record the arrival on July 1 of 400-600 Crow Indians who, under their chief Medicine Crow, were to “play a prominent part” in the re-enactment.⁷ How popular it proved is uncertain. A Cheyenne paper reported that Sheridan’s citizens “spared no expense to make the eagle scream” on the Fourth, but made no mention of the Custer Battle re-enactment, noting only the balloon ascension and fireworks display.⁸ One thing is certain: the notion of staging a re-creation of Custer’s Last Stand was popular enough to surface again just two years later.

As Dr. Will Frackelton, Sheridan’s pioneer “Sagebrush Dentist,” remembered it, when a committee met in 1902 “to solve the annual problem of the big spectacle for the Sheridan County Fair, it was [O. P.] Hanna who leaned back in his seat, spat deftly at the nearest cuspidor and asked: ‘Well, boys, if yore plumb out of ideas, why don’t you put on the Custer massacre?’” Hanna and the other committee members agreed to line up the soldiers; Frackelton, the fair’s manager, was assigned the task of obtaining Crow cooperation, and on June 1 he set out north for the Crow reservation armed with the promise of free beef as a bribe for participation. To his surprise, the Crows not only knew all about the fair but had already decided to take part.⁹ They arrived in early July in a contingent estimated at 1,000-2,000 strong, once again under Medicine Crow, and set up their camp across Little Goose Creek, a few blocks east of Sheridan’s main street. Excitement was in the air. “The people are waking up to the importance of the three days’ carnival”—again scheduled for July 3-5—the *Post* had reported earlier in predicting “a hot time at Sheridan.” The hotels would be unable to handle the overflow crowds expected; private homes would have to offer accommodation as well.¹⁰ The Burlington Route was cooperating with special excursion trains from points east and west. Advertisements, signed by Frackelton, also touted “The Great Gala Day of the Northwest.”¹¹

The boosterism paid off. More than half a century later Mrs. Jennie Parker remembered the carnival. She rode the train from Ranchester to Sheridan while her husband came by horse and buggy so they would “have a conveyance of some kind to get them around the town during the three-day celebration.” The few hotels available in Sheridan were “literally bursting at the seams.”¹² All the events brought out the spectators—baseball and polo, foot races and horse races, bands and parades. But the carnival’s highlight was to be the Custer Battle re-enactment, “a very elaborate affair,” the promoters promised, that “will take place in a realistic way.”¹³ Both sides in the fray were featured attractions. The Crows in their “most picturesque and hideous costumes” wowed the Eastern visitors each day with a so-called Hideous Parade: “They march north on the business street and back, halting every block to give a war dance.”¹⁴ Meanwhile, the encampment of three com-

panies of the Wyoming National Guard under command of Major C. Z. Zander was a sight to “cause any loyal citizen to feel proud.” The 150 men had brought their own uniforms, weapons and blank ammunition—no small consideration for a fair committee working on a tight budget—and all were “anxious to go into the Custer battle.”

“This part of the program will be the most exciting, and should not be missed by any one who wants to see a live picture of Custer’s last battle,” the *Post* insisted, concluding the report with a bit of frontier humor: “The men are wondering how Major Zander will be able to shake long yellow curls (like Custer’s), as there is a scarcity of that material at the major’s command.”¹⁵

About 4:30 p.m. on July 4 the long-awaited sham battle took place. Mrs. Parker recalled the scene as the spectators gathered and “the hills were lined with wagons, buggies and the more fancy vehicles common in that day.”¹⁶ Crowd estimates ran as high as 10,000 people. Dr. Frackelton, who had played such a key role in planning the re-enactment, devoted two chapters to it in his autobiography published almost 40 years later. Frackelton was one of the few white men to ride with the Indians. Smeared with red paint and decked out in war bonnet, breech cloth and moccasins, he was all ready for the big fight when a hitch developed. Major Zander, dressed as General Custer in a buckskin suit, white hat and blond wig, called him aside and informed him that the troopers would not allow the Indians to capture their flag at battle’s end. “It’s against all military rules,” Zander explained. The Indians were equally adamant: the flag was to be their legitimate trophy. Caught in the middle, Frackelton devised a strategy. “Tell Medicine Crow the original Custer would have acted just this way,” he quietly advised one of the Crows. “Tell him I’ll get that flag during the last charge, and that I may need some support while I’m doing it.” Both sides satisfied, the re-enactment proceeded without further complication:

... the bucks went calmly about killing off Custer’s cavalry according to the pre-arranged program. One by one, the militia dropped, feigning death.

The Indians rode in circles around the dead or dying men, giving their war cries, then leaned down and brought their hands high in the air, holding a trophy in imitation of a scalp or piece of clothing. Occasionally a leader would touch a wounded soldier with a coup stick, pretending that he’d got that one and that it was a coup. . . .

The time came for the final charge. I pounded in on my barebacked horse, rode through the little group of survivors gathered around the golden-wigged Major, grabbed the flag and was off. After me came the triumphant Indians.

The massacre at this stage was supposed to be complete, but the Major refused to be a corpse.

“You lied to me, Frackelton, you lied to me!”

“Well,” I said, “we’ll give you back the flag. That’s more than Custer got.”

This evoked more profanity. Beside himself with rage, the Major jerked off his blond wig and hurled it at me.

“You go plumb to hell,” he shouted.

I caught the curls as they sailed through the air.

"Another scalp—another coup—another feather. Go lay down. You're supposed to be dead."

The antics momentarily took a serious turn when a Crow went down, stung, it was revealed, but not seriously hurt by a shotgun was "fired at too close a range in the rear of his person." The Indians, insisting the wound was intentional, were outraged, but Frackelton mollified the Crow, Blue Bead, with the promise of \$10 and a quarter of beef in compensation. "Suddenly grins replaced the frowns and the interpreter gave the message that ended my worries: 'Blue Bead, he say you can shoot him same place on other side for \$10 more and more beef!'"¹⁷

Such stories tend to grow with the retelling, and this one was no exception. During a trip east—probably in 1941 while he was promoting his book—Frackelton related another version to a Cleveland reporter. During a dress rehearsal, he now said, Blue Bead had demanded that he be allowed to carry off the soldiers' colors, but the men playing the Seventh Cavalry had refused. Frackelton then told the Indians to await the proper moment:

The big day arrived. Folks drove in from all over Johnson County and even down from Montana to see the doings. Must have been nigh a thousand out there by Prairie Dog creek when we staged the sham battle . . .

Man, that was the thrillin'est fight ever! First Custer and his men made camp, then Indian scouts peek over the top of the hill to spot 'em and ride away. Then the big rush of the Crows, mostly on horseback. We had those spectators standing on the seats of their buckboards, with their eyes hanging out. One by one the guardsmen dropped dead. There was a final rush for the big white man with the yellow curls who was Custer. I . . . went in with the Indians. Blue Bead right at my elbow. I sat down on the color sergeant's head while Blue Bead started off with the colors—the sergeant was cursing me something awful—a dead private rose up and shot point blank at the Crow chief. The slug from his blank cartridge burned Blue Bead—proper. There's where the spectators got their money's worth. Every guardsman came to life and slugged the nearest Crow. It was a knock-down and drag-out all over these hills.

Mister Man, Custer was avenged!

Once again Blue Bead's wound was salved with beef and \$10.¹⁸

Granting Frackelton the permissible storyteller's allowance for exaggeration, his anecdotes about the dispute over the flag's capture and the wound to Blue Bead have the ring of truth. The re-enactment was being staged only 26 years after the real thing, and relations between Indian and white could still be testy. Crow veterans of the 1876 campaign on hand for the sham battle included Custer's scouts White-Man-Runs-Him, Hairy Moccasin and Curley, popularly considered "the only survivor of Custer's command."¹⁹ While they fought on the white man's side in 1876, the Crows seemed to enjoy playing their old Sioux and Cheyenne enemies. Some prominent individuals were even assigned specific roles—Wolf-That-Lies-Down, for example, portrayed Chief Gall.²⁰ Despite the historical irony implicit in all this, the *Sheridan Post*

contended that the Crows, having seen service in the Sioux campaign, were "better enabled than anyone else to take part in the presentation of the play."²¹ Sioux and Cheyenne veterans of the Custer Battle might well beg to differ, but there was no denying that the Crows put on a spirited performance.

A contemporary account, less colorful than Frackelton's but probably more reliable, described "The Sham Battle" as follows:

A reproduction of the historical . . . [Custer massacre] was given on the hill southeast of the city Friday afternoon, and was viewed by at least 8,000 people. It was one of the most realistic sham battles ever given, and was carried out according to the conditions and circumstances under which the famous Custer fought.

The soldiers representing General Custer's command were stationed on the south slope of the hill and under command of C. Z. Zander, Major First Battalion Wyoming National Guards. The companies which took part in the battle were Co. "D" of Sheridan, Co. "A" of Newcastle and Co. "G" of Buffalo, comprising a force of 96 men.

The Indians were under command of Medicine Crow and Bear Claw, and their command numbered 200 men.

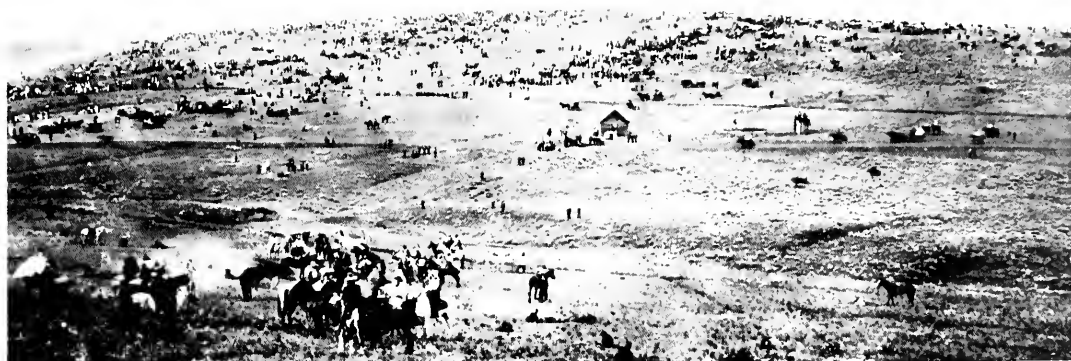
About 4:30 p.m. the troops came over the hill and marched down into the death valley. Guided by Hanna's generalship the charging and yelling Crow Indians surrounded the troops with a perfect wall of flame and lead. From all sides came the fiery and deadly ball and the soldiers fought gallantly, and grimly to the last. They fell singly and in groups until the entire field was dotted with the dead and dying blue-coats. The final Crow triumph was proclaimed in a long and loud yell which, rising high above the constant crackle of the guns, announced the fall of the dreaded "Yellow Hair" himself.

It was one of the most interesting scenes ever witnessed, and thousands of eager spectators from an adjoining hill kept up the applause long after the last of the troopers had succumbed. . . .²²

The *Sheridan Enterprise's* description of the mock battle was more graphic. But even though it mentioned the soldiers' flag, it did not directly corroborate Frackelton's story either:

The location of the battle grounds and its surrounding lines were typical of the famous scene and no part was omitted to paint the massacre as it took place in reality with no survivors left on the part of U.S. troops to tell the tale.

The charge by the troops, the attack by the howling mob of painted fiends from every glen and canyon, the Redskin in white with hell written in his every act of vengeance, the rapid firing of volley after volley like continuous thunder, the slow but forced reluctant retreat of the soldiers and the rapid thinning of the lines by the circling, howling hordes of feathered savages, the retreat of the colors to the brow of the hill and the determined stand taken by the brave boys until all were dead and the standard fell to the dust; and then not content with their work of carnage, the Indians, led by the incarnate fiend in white, still continued to send the leaden bullets into the dead and dying mass of fallen humanity and to cap their fiendish work, took the scalps of their dead foes and dangled them at their belts; all was presented so true to life that the illusion was not dispelled until the bugle notes revived the inanimate forms that covered the sloping hill. It was a great scene and one never to be forgotten.²³



HELVEY COLLECTION, AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UW



HELVEY COLLECTION, AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UW



HELVEY COLLECTION, AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UW

Top—"The crowd viewing the Battle." Most of the soldiers seem to have "bit the dust" at this stage of things.

Middle—"Just before the flag fell." The men rally around the flag for the Last Stand.

Left—"The Last Stand. 'Rain in the Face,' cutting out Tom Custer's heart." The flag is down. Could the stooping Indian be "the incarnate fiend in white" whose dastardly deeds were reported and deplored by the Sheridan Enterprise?



HELVEY COLLECTION, AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UW

'After the Battle.' 'Need more be said? The Indians won—again.

Even in 1902 there were shutterbugs on hand to record the action. Indeed, two moving pictures were made at the carnival by Chicago concerns, one by Louis R. Bostwick, the other by Thomas Nash representing the Selig Polyscope company which was preparing an advertising film for the Burlington Route for release on the Orpheum circuit in America and Europe. (Seven years later, William Selig's studio would produce the first moving picture drama based on the battle, *Custer's Last Stand*, incorporating footage shot earlier that year at either the Billings or Pierre re-enactments.) Movies aside, Bostwick also obtained 75 large plates of frontier scenes at the fair to illustrate articles in the papers he represented—*Chicago Tribune*, *New York World*, *Omaha Bee*—while L. B. Glafcke, formerly part-owner of a Sheridan drugstore, pursued his new vocation as partner in a photography firm by taking photographs "of the daily events enacted during the carnival." However, the *Post* commented, F. J. Angier of the tie-plant was said to have procured "the only good picture of the Custer battle."

Besides the photographers, a distinguished painter, Charles Schreyvogel from Hoboken, New Jersey, was on hand filling the office of the old-time combat artist by sketching the re-enactment and gathering firsthand impressions for future oils of Indian-cavalry skirmishes of the sort that by 1902 had established his critical and popular fame. Despite all this activity—and the *Post*

observed many amateur camera buffs in the crowd making their own pictorial records of the day's happenings—none of the views of the sham Custer Battle has been identified and reproduced in modern times.²⁴

However, several photographs repose in the Robert E. Helvey Collection in the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming that, unidentified save in the most general way, almost certainly are of one of the Sheridan Last Stands. While it is likely that they were taken in 1902, it is noteworthy that cameras were also busily clicking two years earlier during the first Midsummer Carnival, and it is possible that these pictures were taken then.²⁵ Thus the portfolio accompanying this essay cannot be positively identified but can be enjoyed on its own terms as a memento of early Sheridan and northern Wyoming boosterism at a time when the tourist dollar was becoming an increasingly important factor in the local economy, and the long-range prospect of attracting outside development was a dream whose day seemed to have dawned with the crowds that flocked to the hills east of town to witness a commemoration of the region's past and a demonstration of that energetic, progressive leadership that, Sheridan's boosters hoped, would usher in an even more prosperous future.²⁶

I would like to acknowledge the kind assistance of the following in the preparation of this paper: Ms. Helen Graham, Margaret S. Fulmer Memorial Public Library, Sheridan County, Sheridan; and

Mr. Tim Cochrane, Research and Oral Historian, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne. Professor Gene M. Gressley, Director, and Mr. Charles G. Roundy, then Research Historian, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, extended themselves back in 1972 to provide me with copies of the photographs of the Custer Battle re-enactment reproduced here.

1. Major Alfred L. Hough, in Robert G. Athearn, ed., "A Winter Campaign Against the Sioux," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXV (September, 1948), p. 282; and see Brian W. Dippie, "What Will Congress Do About It?": The Congressional Reaction to the Little Big Horn Disaster," *North Dakota History*, XXXVII (Summer, 1970), pp. 160-89.
2. This subject is now receiving considerable serious attention. See, for example, Robert M. Utley, *Custer and the Great Controversy: The Origin and Development of a Legend* (Los Angeles, 1962); Bruce A. Rosenberg, *Custer and the Epic of Defeat* (University Park, Pa., 1974); Paul A. Hutton, "From Little Bighorn to Little Big Man: The Changing Image of a Western Hero in Popular Culture," *Western Historical Quarterly*, VII (January, 1976), pp. 19-45; and Brian W. Dippie, *Custer's Last Stand: The Anatomy of an American Myth* (Missoula, 1976).
3. Olin D. Wheeler, "The Custer Battlefield," in *Wonderland: 1901* (St. Paul, 1901), p. 40.
4. John A. Cockerill, in the *New York Herald*, reprinted in *Custer Battlefield on the Burlington Route* (N.p., n.d. [ca. 1900]).
5. Dippie, *Custer's Last Stand*, pp. 91-9.
6. "Forty Chieftains and Scores of Tribes Reported Mobilized at 'Little Big Horn,'" *Sheridan Post*, June 23, 1926.
7. "Arrival of the Indians," *Sheridan Post*, July 5, 1900.
8. "The Eagle Screamed," *Cheyenne Leader*, July 9, 1900.
9. Will Frackelton, as told to Herman Gastrell Seely, *Sagebrush Dentist* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 196-8.
10. "Indians and Cow Boys," *Sheridan Post*, June 12, 1902.
11. *Sheridan Post*, June 19, 1902, June 26, 1902.
12. "Wyoming Rough and Ready When Pioneer Came Via Emigrant Train," *Sheridan Press*, May 22, 1957.
13. *Sheridan Post*, June 12, 1902.
14. "Carnival Closes," *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, July 8, 1902.
15. "National Guard in Camp," *Sheridan Post*, July 3, 1902.
16. *Sheridan Press*, May 22, 1957.
17. Frackelton, *Sagebrush Dentist*, pp. 215-8.
18. Robert Welles Ritchie, "Action Stuff," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, reprinted as "Resurrection Spoils Drama," unidentified clipping from a Sheridan paper in the Custer's Battle—Memorials folder, C96—m, American Heritage Center, Laramie. The clipping probably dates from 1941 when Frackelton traveled east to promote *Sagebrush Dentist* and appeared on the New York City radio program "We the People." He briefly described his experiences in a letter to Emma Pearl (Scoble), September 23, 1941, in my possession.
19. "Custer's Last Battle," *Sheridan Post*, July 10, 1902; and "Resurrection Spoils Drama."
20. "A Carnival Souvenir," *Sheridan Post*, July 3, 1902.
21. "The Crow Indians," *Sheridan Post*, July 10, 1902.
22. "The Sham Battle," *Sheridan Post*, July 10, 1902.
23. *Sheridan Enterprise*, July 5, 1902, reprinted in "Realism of Custer Battle Re-enactment Stirred Sheridan Throng 26 Years Later," *Sheridan Press*, May 20, 1957.
24. "Additional Local," and unheaded local notes, *Sheridan Post*, July 10, 1902.
25. The *Sheridan Post* issued a souvenir booklet to mark the 1902 celebration that contained photographs of the Crow Indian camp taken during the 1900 Mid-summer Carnival. See "A Carnival Souvenir." One photograph in the AMH Department's Double-day Collection is of an unidentified Custer reenactment. (Photo #246)
26. The *Sheridan Post* for July 10, 1902, carried the following editorial comment: "Much to the credit of the managers of the carnival and their friends our city got lots of free advertising before the carnival, and will get more of it in the metropolitan dailies and magazines after the show. It always pays to be wide-awake. Sheridan is fast forging to the front, and should be kept moving. There are several manufacturing industries which could be secured for this place if the proper effort were put forth. The carnival advertising will bring our city prominently before the capitalists. Now let the home people give encouragement to anyone who may come here to establish an industry."

Country School Legacy in Wyoming



Text and photos by Andrew Gulliford

“ . . . a country school meant roots and a sense of community, and new opportunities for the children of ranchers as well as homesteaders.”

EDITOR'S NOTE: The article "Country School Legacy in Wyoming" is an edited version of reports compiled for the Country School Legacy project by Milton Riske, Robert Barthell, and Ruby Preuit. Their research topics included: Country Schools as Community Centers; Country Schools as Historic Sites; Country Schools and the Americanization of Ethnic Groups; Teachers: Their Roles, Rules, and Restrictions; Country Schools Today; and Reading, Writing, 'Rithmetic, and Recitation.

All original research material is at the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department. Through ERIC/CRESS at New Mexico State University, copies of the reports are available on microfiche and in softbound. The Wyoming State Archives, Museums, and Historical Department and the Wyoming Council on the Humanities have a portable display and film on the Country School Legacy which are available for check out.

A longer version of this paper was presented at the Second Annual Wyoming History Day and meeting of the Wyoming Oral History and Folklore Association at Western Wyoming College, May, 1981.

Enough has already been written about a West that existed more in fiction than in fact and whose early chroniclers, the dime novelists, readily saw an eager reading market among millions of Easterners. The true Cowboy West was a compilation of saddle sores, bacon and biscuits, and days on end without clean clothes or many companions. Contrary to popular myth, cowboys rarely rode into town to get drunk at the bar. When given the opportunity they rode to a general store and splurged on stewed tomatoes!

The West of a thousand novels and countless Hollywood films never really existed. The Frontier officially ended in 1890 and the long cattle drives gave way to barbed wire and windmills. The cowboys became homesteaders, and the Indians also tried to take up the plow.

The 1890 Wyoming school census, age five to twenty years inclusive, lists: 7,518 native males, 6,488 white

females, 1,142 foreign males, 935 white foreign females, 116 colored males and 92 colored females.¹ The open range had gone the way of the buffalo. The time was ripe for rural schools.

The role of women in the West has never been clearly understood just as the settlement and development process has been ignored in favor of such local legends as Butch Cassidy and Tom Horn. It is time now to leave the myth behind and to look at the West and Wyoming as the great land it is and to give credence to the Country School Legacy because no other institution more successfully bridges the gap between the Indian pony and the black Model-T.

Part of the romance of the West had to do with a cowboy's mobility. Just as the boomtown syndrome has always typified parts of Wyoming, so single males could move on whenever the bunkhouse got too crowded. But a country school meant roots and a sense of community, and new opportunities for the children of ranchers as well as homesteaders.

The first school in Rock Springs was held in a private house with Mrs. Holliday as teacher. The blackboards were sheets of brown wrapping paper tacked to the walls,

◀*Exterior of the Slater School, Slater, Wyoming. In use from 1918-1944, it was renovated by the Slater Women's Club.*

Interior, Slater School.





Fairview School, Platte County. It is now in use as a church and Sunday School.



and textbooks were scarce. As described in the Wyoming State Department of Public Instruction Release Number 21, 1940:

In 1874 District 4 was organized and a school house was built which served as a public gathering place for voting, dancing, lectures, etc. The first teacher in this building was a man, about whom very little is known except that his tenure was brief. A story is told to the effect that he liked his morning toddy strong—and oftentimes imbibed too freely of it. It was upon one of these occasions, when he appeared thus at school, that the older boys could not resist the temptation to toss him outside through an open window where he was leaning attempting to retrieve a lost pencil from the ground below. This incident no doubt ended his short career at Rock Springs.²

If teachers and drinking did not mix in Rock Springs, in many rural schools there were no windows to be thrown out of. Cora Beach in *Women of Wyoming* describes a school in Big Horn County:

Later the first school in the vicinity was held in the original cabin. The window had been taken out for the new house so they had a gunny sack over the opening in mild weather and a deer skin when it was very cold. There was one long bench upon which they sat in front of the fireplace.³

F. O. Ruch, teacher at Ruch-Town school eight miles north of Hillsdale in Laramie County, said this when preparing his school for the session: "When school began October 20, the fence surrounding the yard was practically

Hand pump in front of the Fairview School, Platte County.

all down and had only half enough posts and wire. The flag pole, a jointed one, was in four pieces. The coal house door was off the hinges . . . ”⁴

Rosella Carson, superintendent of Laramie County rural schools, took a male teacher to his first teaching job and found the school building so dilapidated that when he surveyed the situation at the out-of-the-way ranch, the teacher sighed, “I’ve lived on jackrabbit and beans for 16 years, I guess I can do it again.”⁵ The superintendent and the teacher cleaned up and plastered the walls so school could commence. The district bought the material and the teachers, patrons, and pupils did the work.

The teacher could have been worse off. When Hanna Johnson arrived from Nebraska to teach in Daniel, Wyoming, she found her school had four walls but no roof. It was spring and the ranchers were taking their cattle to the summer range. They stopped their work to board the roof, however, the mail order roofing paper did not arrive before a heavy rain fell. The rain splashed down between the boards as the teacher taught from under her umbrella while the children continued their work sitting under their desks.⁶

In Wyoming, more often than not, the school was a log building with walls covered with muslin or burlap that moved frequently when the mice came inside to explore the interior. In 1915, Wyoming had 63 brick or stone schools, 141 log or sod schools, 331 frame schools and 22 teachers who didn’t answer the question on the form!⁷

Schools were frequently moved to accommodate shifts in population. In Carbon County, the Bunker Hill School was moved so many times that the logs were numbered from one to ten so that they could be easily put back together. The school was moved in 1934 to Sage Creek above the Irene Ranch; in 1941 to Matson’s Ranch; and finally to the Coudin Ranch where it now stands on a knoll. Parents and school board members all worked to help move the school.⁸

As for teaching contracts, in pre-World War I days, the contract lasted as long as the school district had money. Once the money ran out, after three or four months, school would close and the teacher would be sent home until the district raised enough money to start over again. Janitor work was carried out by the teacher, and sometimes she was paid for it, or she could pay a student to help her. The stove had to be tended and the fire started before the children arrived at the school.

Gertrude Boberg Anderson recalls the numbing cold of the school on Elk Mountain in Carbon County despite a hot stove in the middle of the room. The sandwiches in dinner buckets were often frozen hard as rocks.⁹

Teachers also helped with the housework and cooking in times of need. There are stories, too, of teachers helping with rounding up stray cattle, putting out prairie fires, and assisting with haying. An experienced seamstress teacher was put to work sewing underclothing for the rancher’s daughters.

Lucille Preston was part of a haying crew for a Laramie County rancher during World War II when help was scarce. Grace McMillan helped the rancher’s wife round up cattle to save them from a prairie fire.¹⁰

Some teachers sewed their own curtains from whatever materials they could find. Floors were swept with a sweeping compound, and the oil and sawdust mixture was an olfactory remembrance which many teachers carried with them long after their rural teaching career had ended.

If no spring or pump was nearby, the teacher and students carried a jar of water to school each day. It was used principally for drinking, but in some instances a dirty pair of hands was washed, too. Teachers recall hoarding water with which to wash chalkboards. If a spring was close, water could be collected in a barrel and dipped out into a bucket kept in the school building. But this could also present a problem as illustrated when a teacher in Albany County found this note when she went to get the school supply of water: “Do not use. A rabbit fell in last night.”

With or without teaching experience, often the rancher’s wife became the teacher. Her teaching duties were carried out along with the housework. One woman recalls putting her small child to sleep in the woodbox while she taught school.

When her husband was out carrying the mail, Dorothy Hecox described her daily routine like this: “On mail days we would have school for two hours in the morning, then the children and I would bundle up, go out and feed the chickens, feed and water the work horses, clean the barns, and then we would run over to the sheep and throw off some hay for them. Now we were ready to return to the house for lunch and another two hours for homework.”¹¹

From the earliest days country schools functioned as community centers, and were the source of leisure activities for almost all rural Wyoming residents. Because the rural school was often the first public building in the area, it was a natural setting for community meetings. In the same vein, as the teacher was one of the earliest and sometimes the only paid employee with public funds, she became the unofficial director of a number of district affairs and the building became the center of those activities.

School buildings preceded churches in many communities, and were used for non-denominational prayer meetings and church services. Some of the services were conducted by itinerant preachers who were latter-day circuit riders. Ingleside school in the Iron Mountain area of Laramie County, boasted of a marriage ceremony when Gunmar Andersen, a hotel commissary clerk, married Lil the cook. A Baptist minister came from Cheyenne to perform the ceremony.¹²

Harmony Church in Albany County held many of their church affairs in the Harmony school because the church was difficult to heat.

In Boulder, Wyoming, while no funeral was held, the

school was used in which to perform autopsies. When a town citizen, Ben Walker, was murdered by Jack Walters, the body was laid out on the floor and a decision made on the cause of death. Students remembered that the floor had blood stains and set several desks over that part of the floor. The body was later exhumed for later study, and the school used again.¹³

Meetings held in the schools were for the cattlemen's association, union, grange, Home Demonstration, Red Cross, women's clubs, and water board. To this day, many farm-oriented clubs call themselves by the name of the one-room school in which they first met. Early telephone and ditch companies also followed school district boundaries and took their names from the school.

With the advent of the homesteaders, population increased, and there were more children to attend school. Communication and transportation improved, school buildings were constructed by plan and with tax monies. They became the center for community activities to the extent and in the manner desired by the individual community. Some gathered at the school only for the Christmas program put on by the school and the "end-of-school picnic" in the spring. Others used the schoolhouse for box-socials, pie-socials, school board meets, meetings about water, telephones and roads, literary societies, dances, card playing, and Sunday school and church. Some communities felt the school building was for school and should be used for nothing else. Some felt it belonged to the community and should be used for everything. Between the two extremes fell most usage of the country schools.¹⁴

The central location of the school within the district, necessary to keep travel distance equal for students, tended to make the school a logical site as a voting center, town hall, church and social center. A cursory glance at the Park County school records for several schools indicates that the constant shifting of school district boundaries was an attempt to keep up with shifting centers of population.¹⁵ Most schools were also built so students would not have to walk over four miles to attend.

The shifting population often resulted from the simple introduction of a new crop such as sugar beets that required Russian and German immigrants for labor: a population that would be reflected in the community dances held at the schools where the dances would include waltzes, two steps, schottishes, polkas, and square dancing.

The schools were also the center of card parties which were a pleasurable means of getting people together. Often the proceeds from entertainment would be used to buy new texts and equipment for the school; a method of school financing that seemed preferable to the raising of taxes which would stay on the books forever.

The hard daily work of farming and ranching also made people more conscious of the need for some form of relaxation. The children themselves enjoyed school for

that reason, and the adults, especially after a long and hard winter, felt the need to meet neighbors and friends. It was the parents who supported the school as a community center and participated in the preparations for meals and in making interior arrangements for things like Christmas programs and graduations.

Socials were held in the school house - the box lunch socials, cake walks, raffles, and popularity contests. Many times these affairs were instigated by the teacher to raise funds for extra books, playground equipment, a phonograph or even a piano. Jelm school in Albany County had a pie social to purchase a full-sized wall map.¹⁶

Box suppers were probably the most popular money raising affairs in the country schools. The girl who packed the lunch usually put in enough food for four and decorated the box with tissue paper and ribbon. It was against the rules for the girl to tip off the boy which box was hers, but sometimes she gave a hint to a boy she liked by saying, "I only had yellow ribbon." One teacher recalls the box she prepared for the social was held upside down by the auctioneer!¹⁷

Margaret Hoglund Coe wrote about her experiences at the Upper Sage Creek School:

Sometimes in reminiscing, the ones that are still around think of the church services held in the old school house; the school programs; the spell-downs with Lower Sage Creek School and Mountain View School; and the picnics, where almost all came back smelling of wild onions and garlic, and a few bunches of wild flowers, a mouse or two to drop in someone's pocket, a smile and a feeling of happiness at being alive on such a beautiful day.¹⁸

Christmas programs were always the highlight of the year in rural schools. These were much appreciated by the patrons and the mistakes provided chuckles for weeks.

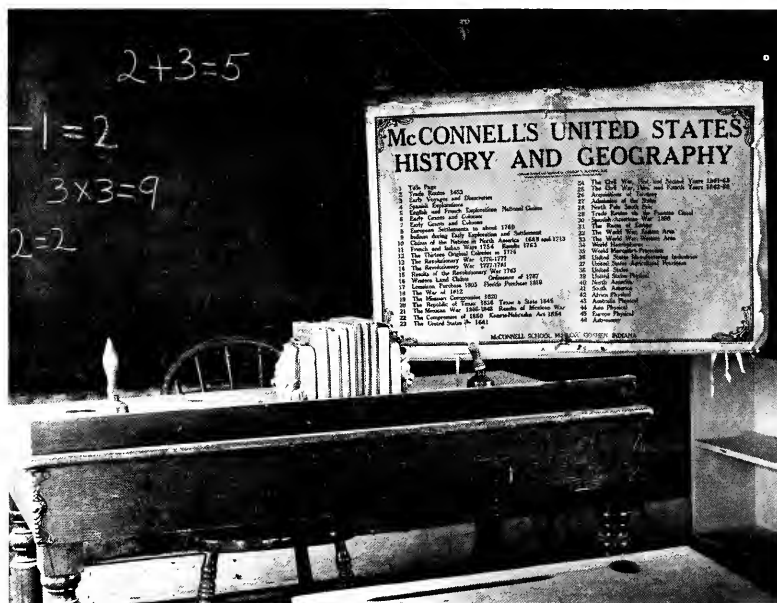
It was a break from the monotonous routine of school, and teachers and students alike recall beginning practice soon after Thanksgiving for the recitations, songs and short skits. An example of how important the program was is shown by this incident. Nina Keslar Finley, suffering from whooping cough and not able to attend the Christmas program, was bundled up in cloaks and blankets and taken by buggy to the window of the school where Santa Claus plucked a doll from the tree and presented it to her more than 50 years ago.¹⁹

When a school had too few pupils, several schools in the district would combine to put on a program at a central location. The Palmer Canyon Dance Hall, a log building in Albany County, was used. Mrs. Boberg Anderson remembered a place, the Garden Spot Pavilion, a dance hall used for Christmas programs in Carbon County. As a student she could not understand why a man sat and stared at the candle-lit tree. Later she discovered he was the fire watch! Before electricity, trees were decorated with candles. Buckets of water were set close by to squelch the flame should the tree catch on fire.²⁰

In another instance, it was not fire but firefighter problems at a Christmas program. One cowboy had agreed



Interior of the Central School, a log building circa 1900 that is now located at the Stage Coach Museum in Lusk.



Interior, Central School, Niobrara County.

to play Santa Claus, but had stopped along the way at a ranch or saloon for some Christmas cheer. His antics at the program were the topic of conversation for weeks.²¹

Other types of programs were also presented. Spelling bees, arithmetic contests and debates were held in the schools. A debate in a rural school in Uinta County discussed the topic: "Is a load of seed potatoes or a load of women most needed in the community?"²²

Although Christmas programs were the most popular, the end of the year school day was one that everyone in the community participated in whether they had children or not. Parents who had traveled long distances felt the entire day should be given over to pleasure, and a picnic usually capped off the graduation ceremony. This was also a time to reward scholarship and attendance and the county superintendents tried to make the ceremonies as impressive as possible.

Award certificates were signed by the superintendents and presented by them. It was expected that the teacher would organize the graduation ceremony and picnic. Many teachers dug into their own pocketbook to come up with mementos of the occasion. These were usually

little books or pamphlets that were adorned with standardized engravings of patriotic or religious themes and poetry that emphasized good citizenship and a love of education. These small tokens of appreciation are the most prized possessions of many former country school students.

Other holidays were handled in the same manner. Anna Schlick Ballard remembered:

My third year of teaching was at the Owen school 50 miles north of Douglas. Rosalie Brewen had a lively school six miles away. We had several joint projects. One delightful experience was our Easter egg hunt. Rosalie and I bought many chocolate chickens and rabbits so each child would be able to find at least one chocolate candy. The mothers dyed eggs. Rosalie and I were overwhelmed with the milk pails full of colored eggs. We hid them around the school house and let the little ones hunt on one side, the older children on the other. Wyoming sagebrush has never yielded such treasures!²³

Easter egg hunts may have provided leisure activities for the school children, but the adults loved to dance! Vera Saban states:

I remember attending dances at the Lower Beaver Creek schoolhouse, riding with an escort down the creek several miles. Once we even rode 12 miles to Shell Town to a



Shawnee School, Shawnee, Wyoming, has been in continuous use since Oct. 18, 1919. Fifteen students were enrolled there in 1980.



Axford School, Platte County, was built in 1919. The school has been razed since this photograph was taken in 1981.

dance—I believe it was an election dance in 1926. During my second term at Beaver Creek the people of the community with a yen for some entertainment, had a series of ‘surprise parties’—unexpectedly converging on some ranch home. Furniture was pushed aside, somebody played a fiddle or an organ, or even just a harmonica, and all danced, chiefly square dances, until nearly morning. Of course, getting to these parties was by means of horses on a wagon or a sleigh, or horseback since the roads were not passable for cars. Children were loaded into the conveyance and taken along, and put to sleep when they tired at the dance.²⁴

The dances were the main attractions through the year, and the teacher often hired the fiddler and planned the refreshments. These were truly community affairs even though some families frowned on dancing.

Wanna Clay Olson tells of coming to Wyoming in 1919 from Missouri to teach in a log school. A dance was given in her honor at the ‘nearby ranch’ about 10 miles away. She described the welcome at the dance: ‘‘As my party of friends arrived, all the cowboys greeted us with shooting their six-guns into the air just for my welcome. Scared and excited would hardly describe my feelings. Two brothers furnished the music, each taking his turn playing the accordion. Just before daylight, we went home.’’²⁵

That the community gatherings were well attended speak to their value in an isolated community. The enthusiasm which people entered into the program was evidenced often by the damage done to the building or other signs of audience approval. At the old Evergreen school in Hot Springs County, Pete King remembers the gasoline lanterns going out during a dance because the dust raised by the enthusiastic dancers clogged the air vents in the lanterns. The dancers were forced to take a rest.²⁶

If country schools were the source of leisure activities, the rural school ‘‘marms’’ themselves were equally coveted in a lonesome land where cowboys grew tired of having only cows for companions.

Teachers followed the railroad, the rancher, and the homesteaders to the wide open spaces of Wyoming. They came for a variety of reasons. Their searches were for land, for romance, for adventure or for better paying jobs.

Teaching was, as some expressed, the one respectable job for a woman; being able to live on a ranch was an incentive for a girl to come to Wyoming. A male-dominated area was also an attraction for a single female teacher. In the late 1890s the male-female ratio in Wyoming had to be at least 12 to one. Unmarried ranchers

became school board members just so they could help screen prospective teachers.

How many teachers were influenced by Owen Wister's novel, *The Virginian*, cannot be determined. Some claimed to have read the novel; some said it had affected their move to Wyoming. Wister's image of the cowboy as a knight of the range instead of a hired man on horseback was somewhat unrealistic. But the portrayal of Molly Wood as a school teacher from the East dropped into a vast, unknown West was reliable. There are those who believe that the model for Wister's heroine was Mary A. Wright who arrived from the East in 1885, although there were several other teachers in the area of Medicine Bow when Wister was researching the story.²⁷

The tales of bashful, tongue-tied cowboys checking out the new school marm are innumerable. A much recounted anecdote is the one of the cowboy who wanted to meet the comely new teacher. With reins in hand he rapped on the door of the teacherage inquiring the direction to a certain ranch by the name of the brand. The teacher read the brand on the horse, and hinted that the horse might know the way. Cowboys would knock on the door for a variety of reasons, but what they were really seeking was a glimpse of the school marm.

May McAlister had answered an advertisement for a teaching job near Kemmerer. She had read about the cowboys, but had met none until being entertained at a school board meeting. A group of big-hatted, suntanned men skidded their horses to a stop before the picnic tables. She recalled they needed but one invitation to stop and eat.²⁸

When Alvina Gluessig came from Wisconsin to teach at a ranch school in Wyoming, a Texas cowboy, George Lucy, swept the schoolhouse floors on weekends and started the fire in the pot-bellied stove each frosty morning. Eventually they married and took up homesteading. The first summer they lived outdoors and covered their four poster bed with a canvas canopy. They ate their food off a barn door set on logs. To make ends meet they trapped coyotes for bounty.

On another occasion, a teacher and her cowboy were unable to get to the county seat at Cheyenne to get a marriage license. They enlisted the service of a railroad conductor who made the run from the small community to town where he purchased the license and brought it back on the next train.

A teacher who had come to Iron Mountain, Wyoming, to meet a cowboy possibly received more than she bargained for. Tom Horn was a cowboy who made the ranch dances to "check out" the school marms. He was remembered by teachers as an excellent horseman, first-rate cowboy and gentleman. Glendoline Kimmel, a new teacher from Missouri, became infatuated with Horn, who was also a hired gun. When he was brought to trial for murder, Miss Kimmel became a star witness. In an attempt to save Tom Horn, she accused the son of the

rancher with whom she was boarding of the murder. She was to be tried for perjury, but left Wyoming for Missouri. After Horn was found guilty and hanged, the charges against her were dropped.²⁹

Not every teacher was interested in marrying a cowboy or even meeting one, but there were enough matches made that school boards instituted clauses in contracts which prohibited teachers from marrying during the school year. A few documents prohibited marrying for three years. In an attempt to keep the teacher from sowing the seeds of matrimony, a clause was inserted in some of the contracts forbidding the teacher to take 'pleasure trips' out of the district.³⁰

Truly the Country School Legacy in Wyoming is rich in history, folklore, and tradition. Teachers married and raised community standards, and parents and community members worked hard to build and equip pioneer schools. It was those schools that helped 'civilize' the vast stretches of Wyoming mountains and plains.

1. 1890 Wyoming School Census Records from Terrence D. Fromong, "The Development of Public Elementary and Secondary Education in Wyoming 1869-1917," thesis completed August, 1962. This is the standard reference for the history of Wyoming's early schools. Also see "The Development of Public Elementary and Secondary Education in Wyoming 1917-1945," by John A. Barthlow. Thesis completed June, 1969. Refer to pages 41, 42, 54 and 55.
2. Wyoming State Department of Public Instruction, Release Number 21, 1940; at the University of Wyoming, Archive of Contemporary History, Laramie. Early schools are also mentioned in "A History of the Development of Territorial Public Education in the State of Wyoming 1869-1890," by George Justin Bale, *Wyoming Annals*, 1939-1940.
3. Cora M. Beach, Ed., *Women of Wyoming*, (Casper: S. E. Boyer and Company, 1927), p. 260.
4. Milton Riske, "Teachers: Their Roles, Rules, and Restrictions," unpublished manuscript from "Country School Legacy: Humanities on the Frontier" sponsored by the Mountain Plains Library Association and the National Endowment for the Humanities," p. 12, citing from *Hillsdale Heritage*.
5. Rosella Carson, former Laramie County Schools Superintendent, interviewed by Milton Riske, 1981.
6. Milton Riske, "Teachers: Their Roles, Rules and Restrictions," p. 8, citing from *Let Your Light Shine*.
7. Fromong, p. 313, Table L.
8. Donna J. Connor, county superintendent, *History of the Schools of Carbon County, 1876-1888-1889-1939*, History of Schools in District No. 2—Kortes, Wyoming, page 1, 1964. Spiral bound booklet at the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department. For additional information on log schools see "The Twin Buttes School" by E. K. Rubottom in *The Buffalo Bulletin*, section 7A, August 16, 1979.
9. Frances Elizabeth Strayer Hanson, *A History of the Elk Mountain School, Elk Mountain, Carbon County, Wyoming 1880-1962*, (Waseca, Minn.: Walter's Publishing Company, June, 1979), p. 33.
10. Milton Riske, "Teachers: Their Roles, Rules, and Restrictions," p. 11 citing from *Hillsdale Heritage*. Note that teachers not only helped with farm chores but were expected to act as impromptu

- babysitters when the parents went to town and did not want to take along their children who were too young for school.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 5, citing from *Sublette School Days*. If in the early days rancher's wives became teachers, by the 1920s schools flourished. Niobrara County for the academic year 1923-1924 had 58 one-room schools in session.
12. Milton Riske, "Country Schools as Community Centers," unpublished report for the Mountain Plains Library Association/National Endowment for the Humanities, page 1, citing *From These Roots*.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 1, citing from *They Made Wyoming Their Own*.
14. Ruby Preuit, Country School Legacy Final Report, p. 1, February, 1981. As an example of country schools giving their names to other associations, the Keas School community in the Wheatland area also became the Keas Lateral Ditch and the Keas Farm Bureau.
15. Sites for country schools easily shifted with changes in population. Because the schools had no plumbing, heating, or electricity they were easy to move. Once the school was moved its name was often changed which further complicates positive identification of country schools as historic sites. See Albany County Cow-Belles, *Cow-Belles Ring School Bells*, (Cheyenne: Pioneer Printing Co., 1976), p. 290. For Park County records contact: Park County Chapter of the Wyoming State Historical Society, c/o F. T. Hayden, Box 787, Cody, WY 82414.
16. *Cow-Belles Ring School Bells*, p. 78. Parents and school board members by far preferred raising funds with box socials. If they increased local taxes, such an increase would remain on the books!
17. In isolated farm and ranch settlements, the community value of getting together over a pie social can not be overestimated. Cowboys saved money for weeks in order to buy the box belonging to the girl of their choice. Naturally, competing bids kept the auctions quite lively.
18. Margaret Hoglund Coe, "Upper Sage Creek School," unpublished history, undated.
19. Milton Riske, "Country Schools as Community Centers," p. 3, citing from *Calico Hill*. Throughout the West the country school Christmas program traditionally was the biggest event of the year. Everyone attended. Pupils often began memorizing their parts for the Christmas play soon after Thanksgiving.
20. Frances Hanson, *A History of the Elk Mountain School*, p. 35.
21. Milton Riske, "Country Schools as Community Centers," p. 4.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 4, citing *They Made Wyoming*.
23. Anna Schlick Ballard, unpublished history of normal training program at Douglas High School, undated.
24. Vera Saban, "Wyoming Rural Schools in the 20s and 30s," unpublished history, undated.
25. *Cow-Belles Ring School Bells*, "My First Year of Teaching in Wyoming," Wanna Clay Olson, p. 132.
26. Peter King, taped interview by Robert Barthell, Thermopolis, Wyoming, January 31, 1981.
27. Milton Riske, "Teachers: Their Roles, Rules, and Restrictions," p. 11. Milton Riske has published on Owen Wister and the personalities and settings he may have used in writing *The Virginian*. Also see *Cow-Belles Ring School Bells*, p. 145.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 11, citing from *They Made Wyoming Their Own*.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 4. An additional reference is Ruth Southworth Brown, *Walk on the Sky*, (Cheyenne: Pioneer Printing Co., 1973). See the chapter on the Muleshoe School.
30. Teachers frequently married in the middle of their terms and often left the school board in the lurch to find a suitable replacement. On the other hand, unmarried ranchers coveted positions on the school board so they could evaluate and help select teachers for their district. Naturally the girls they chose were invariably unmarried. The Edgington School in Albany County even earned the nickname "Mating Ground" because of the couples that met there. *Cow-Belles Ring School Bells*, p. 172.



AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UW

Children of Mexican sugar beet factory workers, Torrington, date unknown.

Mexican Workers in Wyoming During World War II:

Necessity, Discrimination and Protest

By William L. Hewitt



World War II opened an era of increasing hope and frustration for Mexicans in Wyoming.¹ After a decade of depression, the war and the government's need for manpower led Mexicans to expect a better share of the American dream. The sense of contribution to the war effort in military and civilian capacities intensified the indignation of Mexicans when they heard stories of race riots in California involving Mexicans and experienced discrimination in their own lives. In the so-called "zoot-suit" riots in Los Angeles a mob of over 1,000 whites, mainly soldiers and sailors, roamed the city attacking zoot-suit clad Mexicans. The city and military police looked the other way and often aided and abetted the rioters. The Los Angeles City Council ordered the arrest for "vagrancy" of those who had been beaten.²

Mexicans settled in Wyoming and experienced more subtle forms of discrimination beginning many years prior

to World War II. The sugar beet industry drew many Mexicans to Wyoming in the early 1900s. Mexican Nationals and Mexican-Americans provided a ready supply of labor for the sugar companies. A contemporary historian of seasonal farm labor, Harry Schwartz, also noted migration of Mexican workers within Wyoming, as well as a subtle bias of his own. He observed that many Mexican workers in the state migrated from rural beet fields only as far as Cheyenne, combining "living on a combination of casual unskilled labor and charity while they hibernated between beet seasons."³ More numerous, though, were Mexican enclaves in established agricultural towns.

Mexican communities within Wyoming grew in areas where their labor displaced that of other groups. In Lovell, Wyoming, for example, an acute labor shortage induced local farmers to seek Mexican laborers beginning in 1918. Recruiters for the sugar companies loaded special trains with Mexicans in El Paso, Texas, for transport to Denver, then to Wyoming and Montana. After they arrived, they found poor housing, low wages and prejudice. Discrimination in bars, pool halls, churches and restaurants was ignored by Great Western Sugar and persisted until after World War II.⁴

Mexicans in the Powell area endured discrimination similar to that of Mexicans in Lovell. The Rodriguez family migrated between the beet fields of Powell and New Mexico where they spent winters. In the 1930s they settled permanently in the O'Donnell community on the Powell flats. Paul Rodriguez, Jr., recalled much prejudice against Mexicans in Powell. He could not swim in the local pool and there were signs in many cafes, bars, and barber shops prohibiting Mexicans. Ill-will was so strong that some of the Rodriguez family moved to California.

This migration of beet workers from New Mexico to Wyoming, accelerated during the war. Sociologist Charles P. Loomis completed a study for the Social Science Research Council in December, 1942, charting the migration of New Mexicans from Taos and San Miguel Counties to various communities in Wyoming. The larger proportion of the migrants in the Loomis study went into defense work, but it can be assumed that those who went to Wyoming probably engaged in agricultural work.⁵

By the 1940s two stereotypes of Mexicans had become widespread in the West. Since most Mexican immigrants came from rural backgrounds, North Americans assumed they were well suited for agricultural work. Related to this idea was the usefulness of Mexicans in unskilled industrial employment. The second stereotype ascribed docility to Mexican workers, who worked hard for long hours at low wages, with few if any complaints.⁶ In the 1940s these beliefs had become widespread and engrained in the public's mind. These stereotypes influenced the treatment

of all Mexican workers during the war years.

War-time labor shortages in Wyoming affected ranches, the Casper Air Base, coal mines, dairies and the tie and timber industry. The war siphoned off 22 to 39 percent of agricultural workers throughout the state. The government's first attempt to alleviate the labor shortage on farms involved assigning Works Progress Administration (WPA) workers to agricultural work. John E. Gross, regional representative of the United States Employment Service, acknowledged that women and children would have to be used to harvest sugar beets or the crop would rot in the fields due to the shortage of farm workers. Various sources of domestic and foreign labor provided the necessary workers to harvest Wyoming crops. Seasonal workers who migrated from other states and *braceros*, or Mexican Nationals contracted under the terms of a binational agreement, joined Mexicans living in the state permanently, such as those at Lovell and Powell.⁷ Still the number of workers did not meet the war-time need.

In March, 1942, for example, to meet this acute labor shortage school students in the Rock Springs area registered for emergency farm-ranch work. Manager D. N. Macdonald of the Rock Springs Employment Service provided registration forms to the area high schools and estimated he had received 986 returns. Miss Esther Anderson, state superintendent of public instruction, approved the plan. The harvesting effort was dubbed "Food for Victory" by the government. The novelty of females working in the beet fields was revealed in the *Northern Wyoming Daily News* (Worland) headline, "Fair Coeds Arise At 4 A.M. And Thin Sugar Beets With The Best Of Them." The students, joined by area businessmen, saved 1,000 acres of sugar beets in the Sheridan area. Worland businessmen "temporarily crippled and unable to stand erect" were offered free chiropractic adjustments by Dr. F. W. LeBaron.⁸

Although the use of school children, women, and businessmen proved successful for bringing in the 1942 harvest, it was only to be an emergency measure. Local authorities sought more satisfactory and permanent solutions for the labor shortage. A field representative for the Holly Sugar Company near Riverton, Dick Pickett, sought unemployed workers from Oklahoma and Mexicans from the Pueblo, Colorado, area to hoe beets. In desperation, J. Irl Pritchard, manager of the United States Employment Service at Sheridan, wrote to relocation authorities at Cody requesting Japanese evacuees from the West Coast. Government regulations for their transport impeded their utilization by Wyoming growers at this time.⁹

Washington responded to the crisis by raising the minimum wage for beet labor. Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard announced on March 19, 1942, wage

"the government's need for manpower led Mexicans to expect a better share of the American dream . . ."



Gov. Lester C. Hunt

AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UW

hikes in District 3 comprising Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas, and southern Wyoming; blocking and thinning, \$9.50 per acre or 45 cents an hour; first hoeing, \$3 an acre or 40 cents an hour; each subsequent hoeing or weeding \$2 an acre or 40 cents an hour. In District 5 comprising southern and eastern Montana, northern Wyoming and western North Dakota, the rate was set at \$11 an acre for blocking and thinning; \$3 an acre for first hoeing, and \$2 for each subsequent hoeing or weeding.¹⁰

Despite wage increases, enthusiasm for beet work quickly declined during the 1942 harvest. By October 1, only 28 workers showed up for work at Sheridan. Seventy-five excuse cards submitted by high school students largely eliminated this source of labor. Growers frantically sent 25 telegrams to Paul V. McNutt, War Manpower Board Director, and to Secretary of Agriculture Wickard. At Buffalo, the superintendent closed the school to aid with the harvest. Gov. Lester C. Hunt gave 20 boys from the Wyoming Industrial Institute permission to work in the beet fields. By November, Buffalo officials resorted to the expedient adopted elsewhere by closing every shop, office, hotel and cafe to allow workers to harvest beets.¹¹

At the beginning of 1943 it was estimated that approximately 25,000 workers, of whom 17,000 were agricultural workers, had left the state for the armed forces or war industries. Gov. Hunt acknowledged that sugar beets were the state's most profitable crop and employed the most agricultural laborers. Nevertheless, due to the difficulty in getting laborers, acreage had been cut by 50 percent in early 1943.¹² The cut-back in sugar beets and subsequent closing of three sugar beet factories prompted Hunt

to write to Secretary of Agriculture Wickard, "These factories have been operating, I believe, since 1916 and have never had any labor trouble or serious disagreement with the farmers at any time and the industry has become more or less the stabilizer of the Big Horn Basin and Northern Wyoming."¹³ Hunt would later feel impelled to maintain good labor relations with Mexico to insure the supply of agricultural labor.

But recruitment of Mexicans for beet labor fell far short of the need. J. S. Veeder, Chairman of the Wage Labor Board, announced a total of only 300 Mexican Nationals had been recruited and brought to Wyoming by May, 1943. The small number of Mexicans recruited required other measures to meet the labor shortage. To entice workers to remain in sugar beets or to enter agricultural work, Paul O. Hines, inspector in charge of the Casper office of the Wage-Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the United States Department of Labor, raised wages to 40 cents an hour in sugar beet factories under the Fair Labor Standards Act of June 21. The old minimum had been 30 cents. Hines estimated that approximately 12,000 of the 60,000 workers, in sugar beet factories and related production areas, would be affected. In addition, the Wyoming Selective Service, in January 1943, agreed with the Wyoming office of the War Manpower Commission that agricultural workers could not be referred by the United States employment offices to other types of employment, except under special conditions. Referrals could only be made if it was shown that other employment would be to the definite advantage of the war program.¹⁴

The 1943 effort to secure agricultural laborers was better organized because of the efforts of John H. McElroy, State Supervisor of Emergency Farm Labor. McElroy had been Carbon County Agricultural Extension Agent for nine years prior to his appointment as agronomist at the University of Wyoming from 1936 through 1938. He was the extension service secretary of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration from 1938 to 1942 and Executive Secretary of the National Beet Growers Association for a short time in 1942. When McElroy reported to Hunt on August 10, 1943, he said that German and Italian prisoners of war, Japanese evacuees and Mexicans comprised the labor pool for the coming harvest. Mexican Nationals were being imported by train from Mexico City to Basin. Sugar beet company contracts regulated their employment which was to begin September 25. Local farmers subcontracted with the beet companies to supply individual needs for labor in the Basin area.¹⁵ McElroy certified a need for 500 more Mexican Nationals for the sugar beet harvest in Goshen, Washakie, Sheridan and Platte Counties. Fifty had already been sent to Platte county and 95 to Goshen. Only 100 more Mexicans received permission to work in the state. McElroy blamed recruitment problems in Mexico for the lack of needed laborers.¹⁶

The Mexican Nationals imported to work at Basin did so under the provisions of the bracero program, an Executive Agreement of August 4, 1942, which provided for the first legal importation of Mexican labor during the war. Mexicans contracted to work temporarily in the United States would not be subject to military service, would not be discriminated against and would enjoy guaranteed transportation, living expenses and the prevailing wage in the areas where they worked. The Mexican government managed the recruitment phase of the program.¹⁷

After selection, the braceros were shipped north to work in camps in areas with severe shortages of agricultural workers. An administrator for the War Food Administration, Robert C. Jones, acknowledged that living conditions in bracero camps usually represented substandard housing conditions. He commented that, "Although the camps offer the barest minimum of sanitary living facilities they represent a considerable improvement in shelter and sanitary arrangements over what most of the migrants had before . . ."¹⁸

As the 1943 season drew to a close, Wyoming farmers anticipated using Mexican Nationals and war prisoners more extensively in the coming year. At an October 7, 1943, meeting of the Wyoming State U.S.D.A. War Board in Cheyenne, McElroy declared that the increased goal for the production of sugar beets had to be anticipated and planned for. Meanwhile, the Mexican Nationals in the Basin area finished harvesting and dispersed in November, 1943. Of these, 128 returned to Mexico and 135 were transported to California.¹⁹

Wyoming sugar beet communities anticipated increased coordination of efforts to secure labor for the coming year. A labor conference at Basin presided over by R. E. Varner, newly appointed emergency farm labor supervisor for the Agricultural Extension Service, addressed labor needs for the area. County Agent K. D. Van Wagner, manager of the Lovell sugar factory and field man for the sugar company, Varner's assistant Wess Newton, and Paul Murphy, labor assistant for Big Horn County also attended. They aimed for planning and coordination to meet a projected need for 150 Mexican Nationals. Similar coordination efforts were made at Powell. Varner concluded after these local meetings that 4,000 agricultural workers would be needed statewide for the coming harvest of 1944. Varner envisioned the use of Mexican Nationals, Jamaicans, Bahamians, German and Italian prisoners of war and Japanese internees from Heart Mountain, in addition to local labor.²⁰

To help meet the state's labor shortage, the War Food Administration received \$30,000,000 from the federal government to recruit and train farm labor in 1944. The year began with state supervisor Varner's announcement that approximately 100 Mexicans were scheduled to arrive in Wyoming about April 10. Wyoming residents enthusiastically received news from Marvin Jones, Director of

the War Food Administration in Washington, that 20,000 Mexican Nationals were to labor in America's beet fields in 15 states. This figure augmented the 40,000 Mexican Nationals already working in the United States.²¹

Labor figures for 1944 showed a marked increase in the use of out-of-state labor sources. The Wyoming Employment Service imported 45 Navajo Indians from Holbrook, Arizona, and 155 Mexicans from Arizona and New Mexico to work in the state early in 1944. In June, A. E. Bowman, Director of Extension, communicated to Wyoming's junior senator, Edward V. Robertson that 990 Mexican Nationals had arrived: 75 to Powell, 187 to Basin, 155 to Worland, 65 to Riverton, 80 to Sheridan, 20 to Buffalo, 75 to Wheatland, 313 to Torrington, and 20 to Newcastle. Twenty had to be repatriated for various reasons and 55 more were expected momentarily. To protect the braceros, the War Manpower Commission issued an 11-page booklet on June 23, 1944, specifying the requirements of employers within the state repeating the employment practices proscribed by the bracero agreement.²²

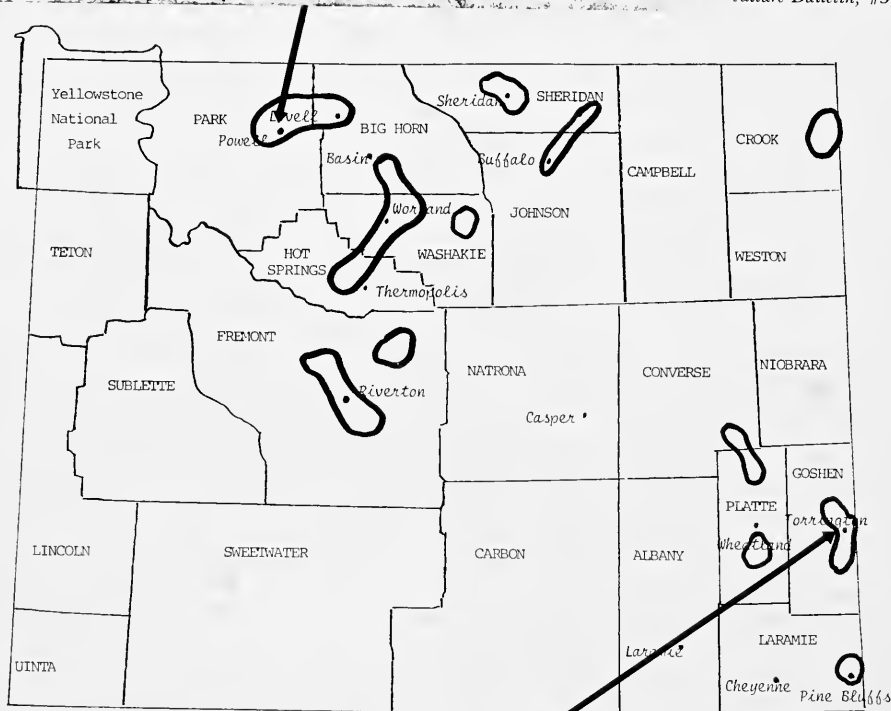
In an effort to evaluate and devise policies to meet Wyoming's labor needs, Hunt and Bowman decided to form a State Advisory Committee. The board was made up of cattlemen, sheepmen and farmers. Two women served. One was Mrs. D. B. Robertson of Lovell, President of Associated Women of Wyoming Farm Bureau Federation who Bowman noted was a capable organizer and a "Farm woman who actually assists with farm work." The other was Mrs. Curtis Eveling of Torrington



A. E. Bowman headed the University Extension Service during World War II.



(Left) Great Western Sugar Factory, Lovell, Oct., 1916.
(Below) Torrington beet factory, April, 1931. The map shows the primary sugar beet producing acreages in 1939. It is from the "Wyoming Agriculture Bulletin, #3," 1943.



who was vice president of the Wyoming Home Demonstration Council representing 6,000 women enrolled in Extension Service Clubs and who Bowman characterized as a "Small town garden type farmer rather than farm woman."²³ No Mexicans served on the committee. And yet, Hunt and McElroy realized Wyoming's treatment of Mexicans placed the state in a difficult position.

Events out of state probably weighed heavily in Hunt's and McElroy's attempts to smooth relations with representatives of the Mexican government. Wyoming desperately needed Mexican laborers, but events in Texas did not bode well for Wyoming. Braceros were not permitted to go to Texas after 1943 when Roberto Medellin of the Mexican Ministry of Labor refused to release them due to the "number of causes of extreme, intolerable racial discrimination."²⁴ Clearly, Wyoming might also be put off limits to braceros if officials did nothing to improve working and living conditions.

A number of developments contributed to growing Mexican uneasiness with the bracero program. Richard B. Craig in his study of braceros gives three reasons why the program was nationalistically humiliating for Mexicans. First, Mexicans in America were submitted to racial and religious discrimination. The Mexican press voiced considerable criticism of the discrimination experienced by Mexican Nationals in the United States. Their evaluation of the entire program was frequently unfavorable. Second, braceros performed the most menial agricultural tasks under salary and working conditions that only the most desperate domestics would accept. Third, Mexicans swarmed to the recruiting centers in Mexico in order to emigrate to the United States, a development of great embarrassment to the Mexican government.²⁵

Events in Wyoming in no way allayed the concern of Mexican officials. A persistent pattern of discrimination within the state came to the attention of the Mexican government. The difficulty Wyoming officials had in getting Mexican Nationals was related, in large part, to the protests made by braceros concerning their treatment and the attitudes of the state's citizens.

Sentiment in the state against Mexican Nationals and other "foreigners" ran high in late 1944 as more of them came to the state to work. Bessie Homer, a Big Piney resident, wrote to Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney a one sentence request on the back of a postcard: "Please use your influence to stop immigration to the United States."²⁶ O'Mahoney responded by describing two bills pending Congress dealing with immigration. Senate Bill 240 authored by Arthur Thomas Stewart, a Senator from Tennessee, would have excluded all foreign nationals from this country so long as there were a minimum of one million unemployed. Senate Bill 1907 sponsored by Sen. John William Elmer Thomas from Oklahoma, stipulated that no foreign nationals would be admitted for five years.²⁷

The disdain of a large portion of the American public

for foreign workers, especially Mexicans, found a sympathetic outlet in Wyoming's press. Under a headline reading "Unemployment Has Become Problem Despite Talk of 'Labor Shortage' ", a radio broadcast by Albert N. Dennis began by asserting that the number of unemployed in the country was between 1.5 and 2 million and increasing. His weekly show "Labor News Review" broadcast over WTOP of the Columbia Broadcasting System leveled a sarcastic backhand at efforts to recruit labor: "So the WFA (War Food Administration), to spend their millions, is bringing in 52,000 Mexican peon laborers and others from elsewhere, even in the face of growing unemployment in this country. That may be cited as perhaps too typical of the present official approach to the employment situation."²⁸

Despite criticism, Wyoming growers sought the importation of more Mexicans under the terms of the bracero agreement. Farmers in Wyoming, as well as farmers in other western states, readily acknowledged their preference for Mexican workers over school children, businessmen and other inexperienced workers. Mexicans were experienced, more efficient and much harder workers. Nevertheless, the attitude of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association revealed another aspect in regard to Mexican workers. Despite stock growers concern for the shortage of labor in hay harvesting, they did not desire Mexican workers because they believed Mexicans were better suited to "stoop labor."²⁹ Wyoming needed Mexican laborers but only in a particular job category, that of beet laborer.

Wyoming agriculturalists considered braceros suitable only for "stoop labor" from the start, although other uses were possible. Sheep ranchers rejected the use of Mexicans as herders, preferring to seek importation of Basque herders from Spain. A. A. Simpson of Buffalo, Wyoming, applied for the immigration of 30 Basques in September, 1943. He wrote to Earl G. Harrison, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization in the Department of Justice who forwarded Simpson's request to the War Manpower Commission for consideration.

Simpson had discussed the use of Mexicans with four prominent Johnson County sheep ranchers: Bernard Marton, Simon Harriet, Gaston Irigaray and John Camino. They regretfully concluded that from one-half to two-thirds of their sheep would have to be marketed due to lack of help. Simpson said he had suggested that they get Mexican sheepherders, but that the ranchers had tried Mexicans and found them to be unsatisfactory. The consensus was that \$20,000 to \$25,000 worth of sheep and ewes could not be turned over, "to a man in whom they have no particular confidence and who belongs to a class of men, who, past experience has shown, are unreliable."³⁰ Another objection to the use of Mexicans was that Navajo Indians already herded sheep in Wyoming as emergency laborers, and Mexicans and Navajos could not work side by side, according to the sheepmen.³¹

Wyoming beet growers desperately needed Mexican Nationals to work in the beet fields, yet at the same time relegated them to inferior status. Discrimination against Mexicans was ignored by the sugar beet companies and growers as it had been in Lovell and Powell two decades earlier. The parochial and nativistic attitudes, long present under the surface in American society, emerged when Mexicans entered the community. In most communities, residents side with their own against outsiders³² and Wyoming communities were no exception. They persistently discriminated against Mexicans during the war.

Community-wide discrimination against braceros first developed in Worland. County Agent C. A. Johnson and Leroy E. Laird, manager of the Holly Sugar plant in Worland, divulged to a meeting of the Washakie county farm bureau that an investigation was under way of conditions in the community by Salvador Lopez Lira, representative of the Mexican government. Lopez Lira reported finding that some Worland businesses refused to extend service to Mexican Nationals. He recommended to the Mexican government that if the condition was not rectified immediately, the 88 Mexican Nationals working there would be removed and that an order for 75 others to arrive on September 29 would be cancelled. Laird declared that without the 163 Mexican Nationals, the Worland area would not have enough labor for the beet harvest. The farm bureau then requested the businesses in question to welcome the Mexican workers.³³

In the wake of growing concern that Mexican Nationals' labor would be lost, John J. McElroy wrote to Hunt on September 20, that the problem of racial discrimination in the Big Horn Basin and Wheatland was "beginning to straighten itself out." He reported, "Mr. (Lopez) Lira of the Department of Labor in the Mexican Government, who visited those areas and made the complaints, has informed the Denver Office of the War Food Administration that he is well satisfied with the conditions at Basin; better satisfied with the conditions at Lovell and Cowley; but still questioning Worland and Wheatland."³⁴

Intervention of Wyoming officials influenced Lira's changed assessment. Governor Hunt and McElroy had implemented a scheme to alleviate growing tension between whites and Mexicans. They had promoted Mexican Independence Day celebrations at Basin and Sheridan. McElroy observed that the celebrations, "should go a long way in convincing Mexico of our friendliness and tolerance."³⁵ The Basin Rotary Club sponsored the celebration providing a free dinner and a band concert by the Basin-Greybull Band. Bernard J. Valdez, labor representative for the Basin area, gave an address to the gathering. R. E. Varner, assistant to County Agent K. D. Van Wagner, provided helpful expertise in dealing with the Mexican Nationals because he had spent 13 years working in Uruguay prior to working in Wyoming. County Agent Van Wagner capped the Basin effort at smoothing relations with the Mexicans

by giving a farewell testimonial to them on November 11 and thanking them for services rendered in the agricultural crisis.³⁶

At Sheridan the Holly Sugar Company took the initiative in pacifying the Mexicans. The Sheridan Flouring Mills, Beet Growers Association and local Chamber of Commerce provided a luncheon, a Spanish language movie entitled "Los Muertos Hablan," ("The Dead Ones Speak") and a dance at the Knights of Pythias Hall. McElroy judged both Independence Day celebrations "a great success."³⁷

McElroy's efforts in other localities succeeded as well. The Washakie County Farm Bureau at Worland, an organization with a membership of over 200 ranchers and farmers, set up a committee to work with the townspeople, ranchers, farmers and sugar companies in working out this problem.³⁸ At Wheatland, County Agent Neff Tippets and W. D. Nicholson, manager of the Great Western Sugar Company, managed the situation without the apparent glowing success achieved at Basin and Sheridan.³⁹ However, Hunt's and McElroy's success was short-lived.

Discrimination against Mexican Nationals occurred again in July, 1944. The Mexican Consul at Denver, Frederico Gutierrez Pastor, wrote to Gov. Hunt on July 13 regarding discrimination in Torrington. Pastor sent carbon copies to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs at Mexico City, the Mexican Embassy at Washington, D.C., and the Consulate General of Mexico at El Paso, Texas. Laborers complained that they were forbidden entrance to a beer hall operating next door to the police department. They also protested against segregated seating arrangements in the Wyoming Theatre. Pastor regretted that the efforts of the Mexican government to assist the Allied war effort by providing workers was not better appreciated by the residents of Torrington. He implored Hunt to "exert (sic) all your influence and goodwill to eliminate situations like the one mentioned above . . ."⁴⁰

Hunt wasted no time in responding. On July 14 he wrote to Torrington Mayor Floyd M. Roush, Secretary of Foreign Affairs at Mexico City, the Mexican Embassy at Washington, D.C., the Consulate General of Mexico at El Paso, Texas, and A. E. Bowman. Hunt first acknowledged what was at stake. Wyoming had been appropriated \$75,000 to recruit and import Mexican Nationals. He added, "It has taken a very considerable amount of recruiting, organization, and work to get these workers into the State, and it would be quite detrimental to the Wyoming producer should anything cause their withdrawal from any area." Hunt disclaimed any wish to regulate local practices. However, he added, "If, through your good offices and a visit with those business houses who discriminate, this situation could be corrected for the duration, it would be, I am sure, mutually helpful in every way and to all parties."⁴¹ Hunt hoped he could answer Pastor with the news that the difficulty had been resolved.

Other charges of discrimination lodged by Mexicans against Basin firms received a rebuttal from Bill Scott, President of the Farm Labor Agency and Big Horn County Assessor. The charge in question alleged that Martin's Cafe forced Mexican Nationals to eat in a "small and dirty side room," rather than the larger and cleaner service room which accommodated the general public. In defense, Scott explained that the side room was a semi-private dining room adjoining the larger dining room and that it was used by the management to accommodate extra customers. He said that this side room was cleaned and redecorated in just the same manner as the other part of the building. During the summer the room was used by a banker in Basin for an anniversary party, and was also used by the local Rebekah Lodge for their banquet, according to Scott. He concluded, "We believe that this charge is poorly founded and perhaps was a misunderstanding from the beginning."⁴²

In any case, Mexicans were making their complaints known. Because of these charges of discrimination, George Hill, of the Washington office of the War Food Administration, met with representatives of the beet growers and the Seventh Service Command of the Army in Omaha, Nebraska, on September 29, 1944, to discuss the use of Mexicans. In addition to the Mexicans already in Wyoming, 200 received permission to be transported to the state, along with 1,607 prisoners of war.⁴³

While Wyoming farmers sought more Mexican laborers, and enjoyed the highest prices ever paid for beets, they also attempted to keep workers' wages low. Growers proposed a method already recognized as serving that purpose by California growers. In the California fruit industry, growers shifted braceros to hourly rates when picking was thick, and back to piece rates when it was thin. Brigadier General Phillip G. Burton, Director of Labor with the War Food Administration, received a wire from president C. C. Gay of the Washakie Beet Growers Association on January 10, 1945, arguing that Mexican Nationals should earn more than the prevailing wage of 50 cents per hour. Burton wired the Holly Sugar Corporation in Sidney, Montana, that the Mexicans determined not to send beet workers north in 1945. They were "considerably disturbed" over payroll difficulties, misunderstandings as to earnings when doing piece work, and the delay in computation and final settlement. The complaints to the consul at Denver, concerning payment of wages later in the year, were so numerous that on June 30, 1945, the Mexican Ministry of Labor requested that workers be moved from Colorado to California.⁴⁴

Work assignments and wages paid to workers other than Mexican Nationals in Wyoming revealed agriculturalists' discriminatory attitudes. Caucasian workers imported from Oklahoma and Arkansas were deemed unacceptable for work in the sugar beet fields. McElroy noted, "Our Oklahomans were particularly successful in the hay fields but I cannot visualize them in the

sugar beet fields."⁴⁵ The 366 Oklahomans already working in the state received higher wages than the Mexican Nationals working in sugar beets. The farmers paid Oklahomans \$5 per day instead of the prevailing wage of \$4, and \$6.50 for stacking hay instead of \$5. Several of the ranchers took these men on fishing and sightseeing trips to Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks.⁴⁶

Wage discrimination complicated Burton's efforts to secure more Mexican workers for Wyoming. He represented Wyoming's labor needs to the Mexican government and had to assuage Mexican fears when he tried to secure more braceros. Burton traveled to Mexico City in January, 1945, to negotiate with Padillo Narvo, Assistant Secretary of the Ministry of Labor. The Mexican government took a hard line in negotiations for workers. To clarify wage misunderstandings, H. W. Vallee, Chief Agriculturalist of the Holly Sugar Corporation, submitted a report of earnings by Mexican Nationals in the state of Wyoming during the 1944 season. The chart showed that 1,440 men worked for average earnings of \$3,016.16. W. J. Gorst, President of the National Beet Grower's Association in Worland, wired Burton that "ambitious workers" could earn even more under the piece work system than on a straight hourly setup.⁴⁷

Burton had communicated to R. E. Varner on September 19, 1944, that an expected 350 Mexican Nationals promised from Chicago were not forthcoming. The wage dispute and the Torrington incident probably contributed to Burton's difficulty. Lovell Mayor Frank H. Brown confirmed that the Mexicans were not coming and that a severe labor shortage was imminent. The ensuing need for labor severely hurt the state's farmers. John K. Phifer, President of the Platte County Labor Association, reported to O'Mahoney that the 1,066 acres of beets ready to be harvested could not be due to the lack of labor. W. J. Gorst in Worland expressed concern over the inadequate labor supply as well.⁴⁸

The labor situation was severe. In desperation, Hunt unsuccessfully tried to secure 200 soldiers from Fort Warren to help harvest the beet crop. Goshen County farmers reported that 30 percent of the potato crop would be unharvested if laborers were not found. All the while, the Federal government continued to call for increased acreages in sugar beets. Sen. O'Mahoney protested in December, 1944, in the wake of the recent labor shortage, that farmers needed more assurance that labor would be available during the 1945 harvest.⁴⁹

Despite Wyoming's problems in securing enough labor in 1945, discrimination in Torrington continued. Consul Frederico Gutierrez Pastor wrote Hunt on April 23 citing incidences of discrimination against Mexicans in Torrington. Hunt admitted to Pastor that discrimination in Torrington business houses jeopardized the importation of Mexican Nationals for farm labor, but that he could offer little direct action. Hunt wrote to the mayor of Torrington, D. M. Kellamer, that there was no formal action

he could take, adding, "I think I can say to you, however, that the possibility of securing Mexican Nationals to work in the sugar beet fields this coming cropping season is jeopardized to some extent by this situation."⁵⁰ Hunt realized that only with the approval of the Consul, based on the assurance that Mexican Nationals would not be discriminated against, would the Mexican government allow braceros to go to Wyoming.

The state's labor shortage in agriculture at the end of the war was what it had been at the beginning. Wyoming citizens' attitudes toward Mexicans exacerbated the shortage and caused braceros to seek relief. However, Mexican Nationals could not sustain their efforts to better working and living conditions for three reasons. First, they had to lodge their complaints to American government officials through their agent in the Mexican Consul. Second, Mexican officials labored under an avalanche of complaints to investigate and rectify problems with a small, underpaid staff. And third, braceros, in contrast to long time Mexican residents, had no permanent stake in the state's communities because they were moved to other states or were repatriated, at the termination of a six-month contract.

Complaints of discrimination did, nevertheless, reach Washington officials during the war and some gave their support to equality. On September 1, 1944, a press release entitled "Labor Must Show The Way" by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes appeared in the *Wyoming Labor Journal*. Ickes had been president of the Chicago N.A.A.C.P. prior to his post in the administration, and he had shown concern for the position of Blacks in soci-

ety especially. He offered a proscription for American labor saying, "Neither racial or religious intolerance can be supported by labor if the working man's future, regardless of his race or creed or color, is to be safeguarded and kept on that high plane which we in America have so long striven to achieve."⁵¹ The protests of agricultural and non-agricultural workers kept national, state and local officials apprised of worker's discontent.

Looking at non-agricultural Mexican workers reveals an even more vigorous effort to combat patterns of discrimination by Mexicans of established residence in Wyoming. In the state's railroad industry, Mexicans confronted the power of organized labor. It should be noted, though, that Mexican workers on the railroads did receive better wages than their counterparts in agriculture. Agricultural wages lagged behind those of organized labor. While beet workers earned \$19.20 for a 48 hour week, organized labor engaged in a publicity campaign to justify wages of \$50.00 per week.⁵²

Nevertheless, working conditions on the railroads caused Mexicans to seek immediate relief directly from their agent. Workers for the Union Pacific Railroad in Wyoming took their complaints to the Fair Employment Practices hearings in Washington, D.C. The Committee was created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt with Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941, and was charged with encouraging full participation in defense industries of all citizens, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. This committee investigated all cases of alleged discrimination in agencies of the Government, industries holding government contracts, industries essential to the



Railroad workers in Cheyenne, circa 1946.

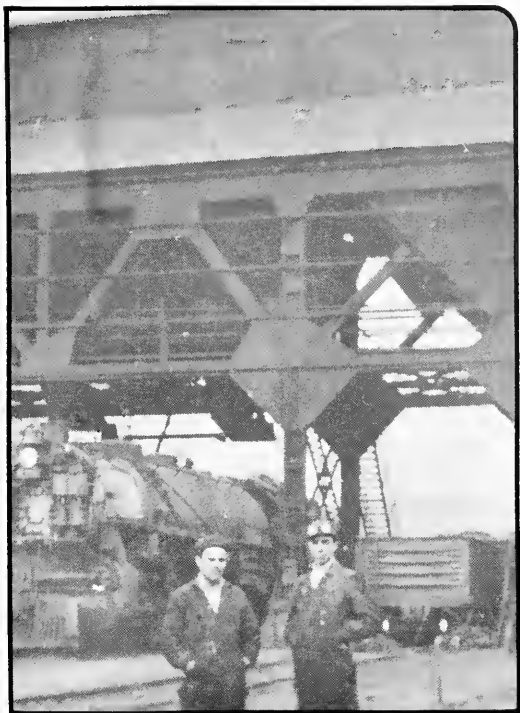
war effort and unions of employees in essential industries, whether or not they held government contracts.⁵³

The hearings held in September, 1943, concerned discrimination charges against 23 railroads and 14 labor unions. The chief complaint coming under scrutiny by the committee was the practice of the railroads and unions that considered Black and Mexican workers "non-promotables." This allegedly was done by negotiated agreements between unions and the railroads. The Union Pacific Railroad Company and its Cheyenne shops were included in the charges being leveled by disgruntled employees. Testimony conducted on September 15, 16 and 17, 1943, in Washington, D.C., comprised more than 1,000 pages of typewritten manuscript, but, the proceedings of the FEPC were not published. Malcolm Ross chaired the committee and Personnel Assistant F. E. Baukhages represented the Union Pacific Railroad. The International Association of Machinists and the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America declined to be represented at the hearings.⁵⁴

Workers charged the unions with discrimination in prohibiting the promotion of shop employees at the train yards in Cheyenne. Three specific charges concerned the treatment of Mexicans. First, the Union Pacific Railroad refused to hire or to promote Mexicans and Blacks because of race or national origin. These workers desired admission to positions as machinists or machinist's helpers, sheet metal workers or their helpers, boilermakers, car men, blacksmiths or electricians. They could not gain access to those better paying positions. Second, the U.P. and the unions conspired to deny employment of Mexicans to unskilled labor positions. Third, written agreements with the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers had been violated by the refusal to promote Mexicans.

Testimony by Jesse J. Gonzales, an employee at the Cheyenne railroad yard, substantiated the charges. Gonzales had been employed by the Union Pacific intermittently since 1918 and continually since 1929, and was the local chairman of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. He testified as to the efforts of Mexicans to secure promotions. Beginning with a 1922 strike of the shops crafts the company freely hired Mexicans and other ethnic and racial groups permitting them to fill any position for which they were qualified.⁵⁵

However, when the American Federation of Labor organized shops of the U.P. on November 1, 1934, the agreement entered into by the Firemen and Oiler's Union and the company did not contain a provision for the promotion of laborers. Subsequent agreements included one in 1937 between the Company and System Federation No. 105, including Firemen and Oilers, which protected their seniority as laborers for 60 days. Another agreement of May 8, 1942, involving the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor, or the craft unions, provided for the promotion of apprentices, apprentice helpers



Railroad workers Marvin Martinez and Delfino Cruz, Cheyenne, 1947.

and mechanic's helpers to positions as mechanics in the weeks of labor shortages. But, only "Anglo-American" laborers received promotions. According to Gonzales, Mexicans or persons of Mexican descent were obliged to remain within the ranks of the lowest level laborers.⁵⁶

Gonzales assumed the chairmanship of the Firemen and Oilers in 1942 and immediately agitated for promotion of Mexicans. He approached John Caserman, General Chairman of the Firemen and Oiler's Union, who in turn contacted System Federation No. 105 and the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor. It was to no avail. So, Gonzales took his complaints directly to the U.P.'s Charles Pickert, Shop Superintendent; a Mr. Lake, District Foreman; and the General Superintendent of the line, and received "excuses to the effect that such employees are incompetent, cannot speak English or do not have sufficient education." District Foreman Lake disclosed to Gonzales that "the unions opposed favorable action and . . . he had certain orders from 'higher-ups.'" ⁵⁷ As a consequence, the company hired 579 new and inexperienced workers, 60 of whom were teenage boys, in the year prior to the hearings. These employees received helper's jobs in preference to experienced Mexicans.⁵⁸

Another Mexican employee, Phillip Mercado, testified as to his inability to get a helper's job. Mercado was

employed by the U.P. as an engine cleaner with seniority from May 8, 1939. In March, 1941, he applied for a helper's job and was directed by the Chief Clerk of the Shop Superintendent to take his request to the committees of the different crafts. Late in the same month he conferred with a Mr. Ricardo, committeeman of the Boilermakers Union, about a promotion and was told he would be "kept in mind." In the beginning of April, Mercado approached a Mr. Cox, committeeman of the machinist's union, who at first promised Mercado he would be considered as a machinist's helper. Mercado apparently pressured Cox who then bluntly refused him because he was of Mexican descent.⁵⁹

To verify the testimony of Mexican employees of the U.P., the FEPC examined seniority rosters furnished by the company and found that they "do not indicate those who are Mexicans, persons of Mexican descent or Negroes."⁶⁰ Very few Spanish surnames showed up on the rosters of the crafts or helpers. However, examination of the laborer's roster revealed a great majority of Spanish surnames.

The company's position was represented by its Personnel Assistant, F. E. Baukhages. He asserted that, "While the summary of the complaints received by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice . . . is vague as to time, we are, nevertheless confident that your examination into such complaints will develop to your satisfaction that the charges summarized are not justified."⁶¹

As for the employment rosters, Baukhages asserted that they revealed the inclusion of Spanish-surnamed employees in many types of positions. But he added, "Since . . . the hearings have developed specific instances of alleged discrimination . . . we will fully investigate with a view towards the speedy correction of any situation inconsistent with the Company's policy." Apparently, the company privately acknowledged that their position was shaky and concluded that discrimination existed because "Two days after the above statement the Committee was informed that the Company had hired or upgraded four men (presumably Mexicans or persons of Mexican descent), one as a boilermaker and three as helpers."⁶²

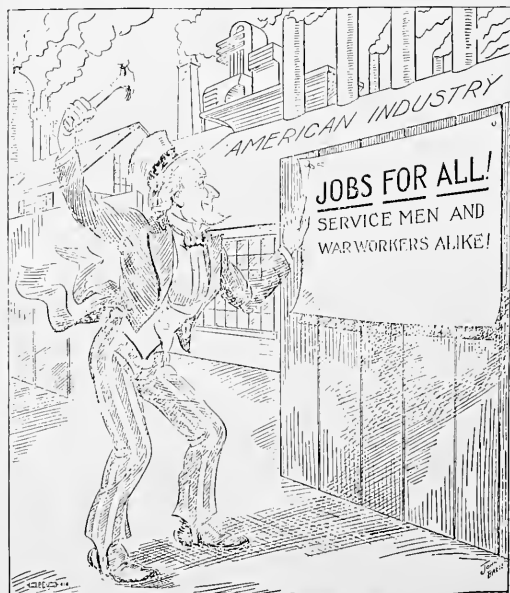
The defensive reaction of the company revealed what the committee findings confirmed. The Union Pacific Railroad Company had discriminated against Mexicans in its Cheyenne shops and yard. It refused to hire them for, or upgrade them to, helpers, machinists, boilermakers, metal workers, sheet metal workers, carmen, blacksmiths and electricians. The committee included a quotation by the company which indicated the company's willingness to investigate discriminatory practices. The company would qualify its investigation, "with a view towards the speedy correction of any situation inconsistent with the Company's policy."⁶³

Thus, the company would correct only what did not conform to its own policy decisions. In addition to the

Union Pacific, both unions, the International Association of Machinists and the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, had discriminated against Mexicans by opposing or refusing to permit their upgrading and promotion.⁶⁴

The committee, with no means to enforce compliance, issued ten directives telling the U.P. and the unions to stop their discriminatory practices affecting employment and upgrading of Mexicans. The new policies of the company were to be disseminated to the unions, the Railroad Retirement Board through which it recruited workers, and the FEPC. The committee gave the U.P. and the unions 30 days to report back to the committee their steps taken in compliance with the directives.⁶⁵ The railroads only needed to report to the committee what it wanted to hear in order to defuse minority discontent.

The FEPC has been described by Harvard Sitkoff in his article entitled "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War," as "The Wailing Wall for minorities, virtually powerless to act but handy as a safety valve."⁶⁶ The railroads' and unions' unwillingness to comply with the FEPC's directives supports Sitkoff's sardonic appraisal. The committee, as a result of the September hearings, ordered 22 major railroads and seven railroad labor unions to end discrimination within 30 days. Sixteen of the carriers sent a joint letter to the FEPC outlining reasons for their inability or refusal to do so. In their letter, "They stated that employment relations on the railroads were governed by collective bargaining contracts, and the carriers were without power to make one-sided changes; . . . that they were willing to confer with the Unions and see if a satisfactory solution to the



racial problem could be worked out . . . '67 Given their contempt for the FEPC, compliance would have been negligible, at best.

War-time propaganda emphasized the need for cooperation. The public, according to a cartoon in the *Wyoming Labor Journal*, desired tranquility from labor, not labor strikes or indications that labor conditions interfered with the war effort. This may explain the government's decision not to publish the FEPC findings. This feeling became more pronounced as the war progressed.

Six American labor leaders touring French battlefields after D-Day in the summer of 1944 voiced concern over "quarrels at home" which interrupted productivity. The War Department sent this message to William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Phillip Murray, head of the Congress of Industrial Organizations for dissemination to local labor leaders.

The employment of returning servicemen concerned organized labor leaders in mid-1944. Labor propaganda began to call for the cooperation of industry to supply jobs for servicemen and war workers.⁶⁸ (For example, see cartoon, *War Labor Journal*, September 8, 1944.) Mexican veterans, as well as all others, would expect to be offered their fair share of the available jobs. The pressure for fair employment exerted by Mexicans and others during the FEPC hearings, gave notice to employers that more assertive attitudes by employees for their rights was developing momentum.

Wyoming was swept along in the current of discrimination against Mexicans. By seeing Mexicans as "stoop laborers" and the lowest level of industrial worker, Wyoming residents put Mexicans at a disadvantage in seeking higher levels of employment. Reinforcing the relegation of Mexicans to low levels in employment was the establishment of discriminatory practices.

Still, war-time manpower requirements in Wyoming forced agriculture and industry to consider new roles for Mexicans. Anglo-Americans on the farm and in industry worked more closely, and sometimes alongside Mexicans more than ever before. The mutual objective of security and survival necessitated greater cooperation.

Discrimination against Mexicans persisted during World War II,⁶⁹ but greater steps had to be taken to arrest it, due to the need for Mexican laborers, their increased assertion of their rights, and their contribution in the workplace. Protests by Mexicans forced communities and employers to be aware of social practices which Mexicans questioned and attempted to change. Mexican performance on the job opened doors of opportunity for others who followed.⁷⁰ Motivation for higher economic and social levels combined with the protests of braceros and other Mexican workers in Wyoming, offered a model for Mexican assertiveness in the future, and, in fact, was the heritage for Mexicans out of their World War II experiences.

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Lawrence Cardoso for the idea for this manuscript and for suggestions after reading it.

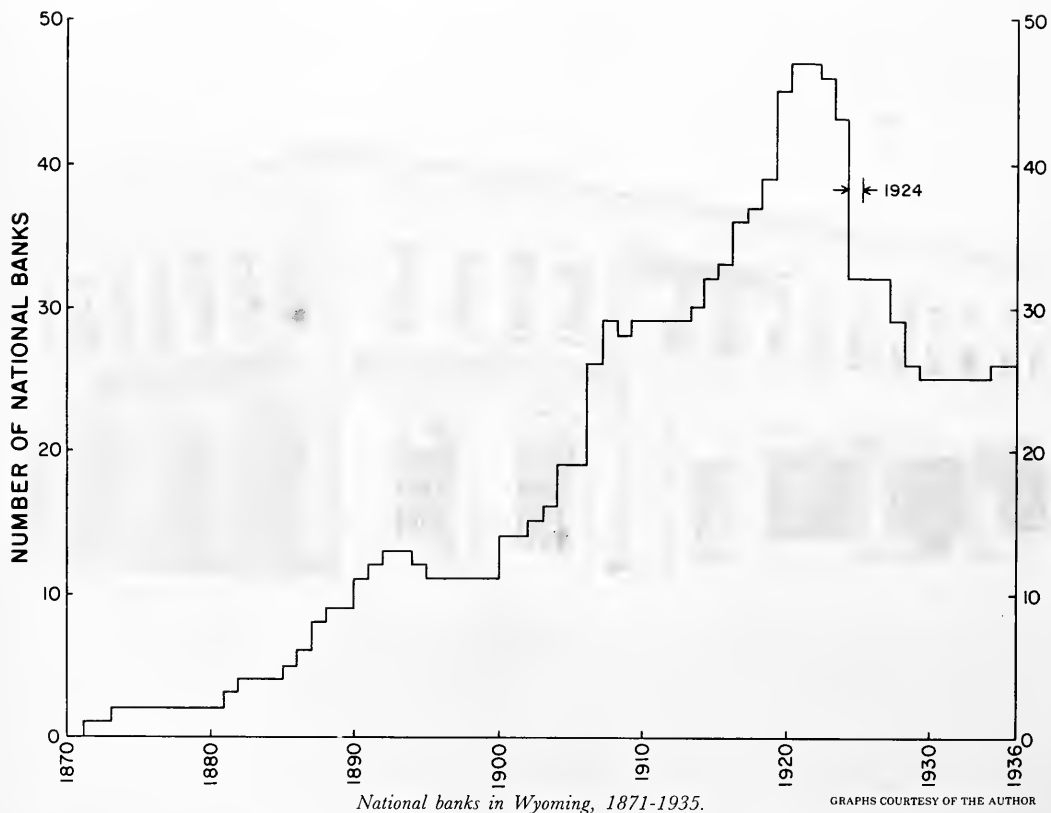
1. For the purpose of this study the term Mexican will be used when referring to Spanish-language agricultural and industrial workers regardless of whether they were native to the United States or Mexico. The term *bracero* will refer exclusively to Mexican Nationals working in the United States.
2. For the military experiences of the Mexican-American military and the resulting rise in levels of expectations see: Raul Morin, *Among the Valiant* (Los Angeles: Borden Publishing Co., 1963), passim. Mexican expectations coincided with those of Black soldiers: Their hope of improved status was legitimized by the American creed which emphasized achievement as the basic norm for rewards. Strouffer, Samuel A., et. al, *The American Soldier: Adjusting During Army Life*. Vol. I. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 599. "Zoot-Suit War," *Time* 41 (June 21, 1943): pp. 18-19; Carey McWilliams, "The Zoot-Suit Riots," *New Republic* 108 (June 21, 1943): pp. 818-820; Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States* (The Peoples of America Series, edited by Louis Adamic), (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1949), pp. 228-265; Solomon James Jones, "The Government Riots of Los Angeles, June, 1943," Thesis, (Los Angeles: University of California, 1969), passim.
3. Harry Schwartz, *Seasonal Farm Labor in the United States with Special Reference to Hired Workers in Fruit and Vegetable and Sugar-Beet Production* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 114.
4. Augustine Redwine, "Lovell's Mexican Colony," *Annals of Wyoming* Vol. 51 (Fall, 1979): pp. 27-35 passim.
5. *The Cody Enterprise*, November 8, 1978. For a general discussion of life in the United States for the Mexican family at this time, see Robert C. Jones, "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Mexican Family in the United States," *The American Journal of Sociology* 53 (May, 1948): pp. 450-452. Charles P. Loomis, "Wartime Migration From the Rural Spanish Speaking Villages of New Mexico," *Rural Sociology* 7 (December, 1942): p. 390.
6. Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures 1929-1939* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1974), pp. 16-17. A perfect example of these attitudes as shown by Coloradans is in: Harry Schwartz, *Seasonal Farm Labor*, pp. 115-117; Lawrence A. Cardoso, *Mexican Immigration To The United States, 1897-1931: Socio-Economic Patterns* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1980). See Chapter 7: "American Policy and Attitudes, 1918 to 1930," especially pp. 124-126.
7. *Laramie Republican Boomerang*, July 24, 1942; *Star Valley Independent*, September 3, 1942; *Wyoming State Journal*, September 17, 1942; *Thermopolis Independent Record*, October 15, 1942; *Sheridan Press*, October 20, 1942; *Minutes*, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Laramie, Wyoming, June 24, 1942, F. P. Lane Chairman of the State Agricultural Extension Service, p. 3; *Billings Gazette*, March 27, 1942; *Wyoming Eagle*, April 1, 1942; *Casper Tribune Herald*, May 21, 1942; Edward L. Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, *Encyclopedia of American Agricultural History* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975) p. 44.
8. *Rock Springs Miner*, April 12, 1942; *Riverton Review*, April 9, 1942; *Saratoga Sun*, May 14, 1942; *Northern Wyoming Daily News*, June 11, 1942; *Wyoming Eagle*, June 20, 1942; *Rock Springs Daily Rocket*, March 13, June 23, 1942; *Casper Tribune Herald*, April 18, 1942; *The Douglas Budget*, April 4, 1942; *The Lusk Free Lance*, April 29, 1942. The turning out of an entire rural community to bring in a harvest, during a war-time labor shortage, was a widespread practice. Harry Schwartz, *Seasonal Farm Labor*, p. 24. *Sheridan Press*, October 7, 1942; *Northern Wyoming Daily News*, June 9, 1942.

- Superintendent C. D. Carter of the National Defense Training School and National Youth Administration closed school to allow the students to work. Tom Bracken, agricultural agent of the Holly Sugar Company in Goshen County considered the use of Indians from Pine Ridge but noted that they did not stay. *Goshen County News*, June 11, 1942.
9. *Riverton Review*, June 25, 1942; *Sheridan Press*, June 9, September 9, 1942.
 10. *Riverton Review*, March 19, 1942. For a detailed discussion of agricultural wages during the war see Samuel Liss, "Farm Wage Boards Under the Cooperative Extension Service During World War II," *Agricultural History* 27 (July, 1953): pp. 103-108, and "Farm Wage Boards Under the Wage Stabilization Program During World War II," *Agricultural History* 30 (July, 1956): pp. 128-137. For the first year under the bracero program see Otey M. Scruggs, "The Bracero Program Under the Farm Security Administration, 1942-1943," *Labor History* 3 (Spring, 1962): pp. 149-168.
 11. *Sheridan Press*, 1, October 6; November 29, 1942. Holly Sugar gave out 200 movie tickets as a reward to high school boys who helped with the harvest to see Mickey Rooney in "A Yank at Eton," on December 30 and 31. *Northern Wyoming Daily News*, October 20, 1942.
 12. Wyoming Stock Growers Association, "Wyoming's Ranch Labor Emergency," July 22, 1942, Fred E. Warren, Chairman of the Executive Committee to Lester C. Hunt, p. 2, Hunt MSS, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming. The Wyoming Stock Growers Association estimated labor needed at this time was 16,824, p. 3, Hunt scrapbook #3, Hunt MSS; *World News*, July 22, 1942; *Laramie Bulletin*, July 22, 1943.
 13. *Sheridan Press*, July 23, 1943; *Greybull Standard*, July 22, 1943.
 14. *Wyoming Labor Journal*, January 8; May 28; June 25, 1943. Colorado officials estimated that the transportation cost to get one Mexican National from Mexico City to Palisade, Colorado, was approximately \$100. John R. McCusker, Regional Director of the War Manpower Commission, to Hunt, September 29, 1943, Hunt MSS. The figure was in an attached memorandum from McCusker to Lawrence A. Appley, Executive Director, War Manpower Commission, regarding the Colorado Peach Harvest, p. 3, Hunt MSS. The United States Senate moved to provide agricultural labor as well. The 78th Congress passed H. J. Res. 96 which became Public Law 45 on April 29, 1943. It appropriated \$26,000,000 to the Administrator of Food Production and Distribution to cover the costs of a program of recruiting, training, and placing former workers (including workers imported from North, South, and Central America and adjacent islands). Not less than \$9,000,000 nor more than \$13,050,000 was to be apportioned to States for expenditure by the agricultural extension services of the land-grant colleges in carrying out the program. Not more than \$13,050,00 was to be available to the Administrator for direct expenditures in facilitating the program.
 15. *Northern Wyoming Daily News*, September 1, 1943; *Laramie Daily Bulletin*, June 30, 1943; *Saratoga Sun*, May 28, 1936; *Wyoming State Tribune*, July 1, 1942. McElroy to Hunt, August 10, 1943, Hunt MSS.
 16. McElroy to Hunt, September 20, 1943, Hunt MSS.
 17. Nelson Gage Copp, "Wetbacks and Braceros: Mexican Migrant Laborers and American Immigration Policy, 1930-1960," Ph.D. Dissertation (Massachusetts: Boston University Graduate School, 1963), p. 54. The agreement was amended on April 29, 1943, providing greater protection for Mexican Nationals. For a detailed discussion see pp. 57-60; Wayne D. Rasmussen, *A History of the Emergency Farm Labor Supply Program, 1943-47* (Agriculture Monograph No. 13) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, September, 1951), pp. 202-205, 213-217, 224-225. Dorothy M. Tercers, "Workers from Mexico," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 78 (September, 1944): pp. 500-506. Proof of farm labor experience was shown by the prospective bracero showing the callouses on his hands. See picture, p. 501.
 18. Robert C. Jones, *Mexican War Workers in the United States: The Mexico-United States Manpower Recruiting Program and Its Operation* (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, Division of Labor and Social Information, 1945), p. 15.
 19. Minutes of Special Meeting of the Wyoming State U.S.D.A. War Board. Thursday, October 7, 1943, O'Mahoney MSS, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming, pp. 6-7; *Wyoming Labor Journal*, November 26, 1943.
 20. *Northern Wyoming Daily News*, August 28, 1943; February 11, 1944; *Lovell Chronicle*, February 17, 1944; *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, September 29, 1943; *Laramie Republican*, March 17, 1944. A. A. Simpson received permission to import Basques, under certain conditions, on March 18, 1944. O'Mahoney to Simpson, March 18, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS. O'Mahoney received notification from Commissioner Harrison, March 17, 1944, to import 30 Basques. An interesting development in April, 1944, occurred when German prisoners of war had the temerity to strike against working conditions which were probably better than many Mexicans had. The Germans complained of leaky barracks and lack of benches to sit on in transportation trucks. Military authorities placed them on bread and water rations and the strike quickly ended. Lowell A. Bangerter, "German Prisoners of War in Wyoming," *Journal of German-American Studies* 14 (June, 1979): p. 90.
 21. *Wyoming Labor Journal*, April 7; July 8, 1944.
 22. The yearly figures for Wyoming's importation of braceros are: August 28, 1943 - 339; August 1, 1944 - 1,026; August 3, 1945 - 405; July 28, 1946 - 328; Rasmussen, *Emergency Farm Labor*, p. 226. *Heartland Times*, May 18, 1944. A. E. Bowman to E. V. Robertson, June 9, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS. James W. Morgan, "Amended Employment Stabilization Program for the State of Wyoming," Mimeographed. (Casper, Wyoming: War Manpower Commission, 1944).
 23. A. E. Bowman to Hunt, July 5, 1944, Hunt MSS.
 24. Copp, "Wetbacks and Braceros," p. 21.
 25. Robert C. Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, p. 44; Rasmussen, *A History of the Emergency Farm Labor*, p. 228. When officials queried braceros in Spanish, a much greater number of unanswered problems became known. Richard B. Craig, *The Bracero Program: Interest Groups and Foreign Policy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), pp. 22-23.
 26. Bessie Homer to O'Mahoney, September 4, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS.
 27. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1971*. (United States: Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 1754-1755; 1806-1807. Joseph O'Mahoney to Bessie Homer, September 25, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS.
 28. *Wyoming Labor Journal*, April 7, 1944. Organized labor was generally always hostile to braceros because they were considered a threat to domestic labor. *Staff Report of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, April 30, 1981*, "U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest." (Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1981), p. 672.
 29. Wyoming Stock Growers Association, "Wyoming's Ranch Labor Emergency," July 22, 1943. Fred E. Warren, Chairman of the Executive Committee to Lester C. Hunt, p. 3, Hunt MSS. Dean L. Williams, "Some Political and Economic Aspects of Mexican Immigration in the United States Since 1941; With Particular Reference to this Immigration into the State of California," Ph.D. Dissertation (Los Angeles: University of California, 1950), p. 23.
 30. A. A. Simpson to Chief, Department of Immigration and Naturalization, Department of Justice, September 22, 1943, Hunt

- MSS. Numerous requests were sent to other officials requesting the use of Basques to alleviate the labor shortage in the sheep industry. Buffalo residents encouraged their immigration and Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney and Hunt attempted to expedite the process. Hunt to William C. Holland, Buffalo, July 26, 1943; Hunt to Department of Immigration and Naturalization, Department of Justice, July 26, 1943; A. A. Simpson to Hunt, April 14, 1944, Hunt MSS.
31. J. B. Wilson to O'Mahoney, February 22, 1945, O'Mahoney MSS.
32. Juan Ramon Garcia, *Operation Wetback: The Mass Deportation of Mexican Undocumented Workers in 1954*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 34.
33. For a short biographical sketch of Laird see *The Northern Wyoming Daily News*, August 24, 1950. Lopez Lira received no allowance for travel or other expenses. Robert C. Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, p. 13. *Wyoming State Tribune*, September 19, 1943.
34. McElroy to Hunt, September 20, 1943, Hunt MSS. Quoted and briefly described in T. A. Larson, *Wyoming's War Years 1941-1945*, (Laramie, Wyoming: The University of Wyoming, 1954), p. 62.
35. McElroy to Hunt, September 20, 1943, Hunt MSS.
36. *Basin Republican Rustler*, September 23, 1943; November 11, 1943.
37. *Sheridan Press*, September 16, 1946. McElroy to Hunt, September 20, 1943, Hunt MSS.
38. McElroy to Hunt, September 20, 1943, Hunt MSS.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Pastor to Hunt, July 13, 1944, Hunt MSS. T. A. Larson, *Wyoming's War Years*, p. 162.
41. Hunt to Roush, July 14, 1944, Hunt MSS.
42. Scott to Hunt, September 13, 1944, Hunt MSS.
43. O'Mahoney to Hunt, September 29, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS.
44. Ernesto Galarza, *Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story: An Account of the Managed Migration of Mexican Farm Workers in California: 1942-1960* (Santa Barbara, California: McNally & Loftin, Publishers, 1964), p. 153. Guy to Burton, January 10, 1945, O'Mahoney MSS. Burton to Holly Sugar Corporation (Copy), January 10, 1945. O'Mahoney MSS. Rasmussen, *A History of the Emergency Farm Labor*, p. 232.
45. McElroy to Hunt, September 20, 1943, Hunt MSS. A. E. Bowman, Director of the Extension Service, provided a tabulation of men from the eastern counties of Oklahoma for use in the hay fields of southwestern Wyoming dated September 21, 1943.
46. A. E. Bowman report to the Members of the State Emergency Farm Labor Committee. McElroy to Hunt, September 20, 1943, Hunt MSS.
47. Joseph O'Mahoney to J. Bryan Wilson, January 22, 1945; O'Mahoney to H. W. Vallee, January 16, 1945, O'Mahoney MSS. Vallee to Joseph O'Mahoney; E. V. Robertson to Congressman Frank A. Barrett, January 11, 1945, O'Mahoney MSS. Composite of earnings for 1,440 Mexican Nationals employed in the state of Wyoming for the 1944 season. By Sponsoring Committees, Compiled by the War Food Administration, Office of Labor, Basin, Wyoming, Paul Gallegos, Area Representative. Gorst to Brigadier General Philip G. Burton, Office of Labor War Food Administration, Washington, D.C., January 10, 1945, O'Mahoney MSS.
48. Burton to Bowman; T. L. Bonnen to O'Mahoney, September 20, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS; Telegram, Brown to O'Mahoney, September 26, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS; Phifer to O'Mahoney, September 22, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS; Joseph O'Mahoney to Gorst, September 23, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS.
49. Hunt to O'Mahoney, October 17, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS; William M. Lynn to O'Mahoney, October 14, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS. O'Mahoney to Harold D. Smith, Director, Bureau of the Budget, December 5, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS.
50. Hunt to Kellam, May 9, 1945, Hunt MSS. Hunt to Pastor, May 9, 1945, Hunt MSS.
51. *Wyoming Labor Journal*, September 1, 1944, p. 12.
52. For a discussion of the disparity in wages see Wyoming Crop Reporting Service, *Wyoming Agriculture Bulletin No. 13* (Wyoming: Compiled jointly by Wyoming and United States Departments of Agriculture, Division of Agricultural Statistics, December, 1943), p. 55. *Wyoming Labor Journal*, July 2, 1943, p. 3. Braceros working for railroads earned 57 cents an hour. Robert C. Jones, *Mexican War Workers*, p. 31.
53. On July 30, 1942, the Fair Employment Practices Commission was transferred to the War Manpower Commission and was subsequently abolished by Executive Order 9346 of May 27, 1943. The FEPC was recreated as an independent agency within the Office for Emergency Management on the same day. *Civilian Agencies: Federal Records of World War II*. (Washington, D.C.: The National Archives, National Archives and Records Service, 1947), p. 527. A copy of the order is in *Yearbook of American Labor*, Vol I: *War Labor Policies* (New York: Philosophical Library, [1945]), pp. 393, 627.
54. *Yearbook of American Labor*, p. 399. General findings and directives of this investigation can be found on p. 400. O'Mahoney to Mr. Mack Hernandez, March 22, 1944. The "Findings and Directives" of the hearings were forwarded to O'Mahoney by George M. Johnson, Deputy Chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices on March 21, 1944, George M. Johnson to O'Mahoney, March 21, 1944, O'Mahoney MSS.
55. Malcolm Ross, *Summary, Findings and Directives in Re Union Pacific Railroad Company International Association of Machinists and International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America* (Washington, D.C.: Public Hearings Held Before the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, September 15-18, 1943), p. 1. (Unpublished typescript), O'Mahoney MSS.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
66. Harvard Sitkoff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War," *Journal of American History* 58 (December, 1971): 661-681.
67. *Yearbook of American Labor*, p. 400. For the impact of the hearings upon Roosevelt administration officials see John Morton Blum, *V Was For Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1976), pp. 198-99.
68. *Wyoming Labor Journal*, January 8, 1943, p. 1; *The New York Times*, August 26, 1944.
69. For a general description of Mexicans vis-a-vis other nationalities in Wyoming see Gordon O. Hendrickson, "Immigration and Assimilation in Wyoming," *Peopling The High Plains, Wyoming's European Heritage* (Edited by Gordon Olaf Hendrickson), (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, 1977), p. 184.
70. Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera, *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972). See Chapter 11: "Heros, Second Class" and Chapter 12: "Braceros."

THE NATIONAL BANK FAILURES IN WYOMING, 1924

By Peter W. Huntoon



The Great Depression for the typical Wyomingite began in the early 1920s—not with the later collapse which precipitated the bank holiday in 1933. In fact, people who lived through the depression years, repeatedly say they felt the most suffering in the twenties. The thirties just seemed like more of the same. This situation prevailed in just about every area of the country dominated by an agricultural economy.

Every crisis, especially one involving money, has seers who purport to know why “disaster is upon us,” and of course why “the other guys are to blame.” With years hindsight improves and real truths tend to emerge from the ashes. Quite often, such as in this case, the fault falls rather uniformly over the whole crowd.

The collapse of the 1920s, which is the focus of this article, resulted to a large extent from the very foundation of American success and greatness—unbounded optimism. The more cynical will claim that the root of the problem was greed—but what is the difference when it comes to matters of money?

Much of the blame for the economic failures of the 1920s rests squarely on the institution of banking. What happened to the Wyoming national banks was repeated many times over in the state banking system. In fact, the mess with the national banks is too narrow a perspective to understand this period. Statistics of the competing state banks must be used to round out this story.

The economics of the early 1920s were shrouded in a blanket of smoke coming from Washington and myths spread by influential financial circles. The “bottom line” from these sources was that a little recession was good for the soul. There was complete indifference to the citizens comprising the bottom of the pyramid. The farmers and laborers of that era were treated with what appears to be callous disregard as the rich scrambled for more. Certainly financial safeguards have been built into the system—Federal Deposit Insurance, better securities laws, etc.—but those innocents who walked into all those early banks and blithely placed their savings on the counter had the same major human flaw—unbinded optimism. “Things can only get better—it can’t happen to me!”

Figure 1 shows a record of the number of Wyoming national banks in operation for each year during the National Bank Note issuing period. As 1921 came to a close, there were 47 operating national banks in Wyoming. During the next eight years, one new bank would open (First National Bank of Parco) and one bank would totally reorganize under a new charter (First National Bank of Thermopolis). In contrast, 23 banks would go out of business, 10 as failures. All the failures were compressed into the years 1923-1924. Many of the other 13 banks were so weakened during this period that they had to seek exits

through the merger or liquidation route before the end of 1929. (See Tables.)

Nothing dominates Figure 1 more than the precipitous drop in 1924. In that year national bank casualties included nine receiverships and four liquidations or consolidations. Thirteen banks in all, or 30 percent of the 1923 total, were gone in just 11 months. One of the receiverships, the Powell National Bank, was restored to solvency but remained sufficiently crippled that its president, J. E. Dowling, resumed business only to wind up its affairs in order to honorably liquidate in 1929.

Figure 2, which shows the total resources of the national banks, illustrates that the 1924 dip was severe, down \$15.7 million or 25 percent from year end 1923 figures. The reality that resources were down 25 percent as compared to a 30 percent decline in the number of banks illustrates that losses were disproportionately borne by the over-extended smaller banks. This was, in fact, the case.

The remarkable fact for Wyoming was that the national bank shakeout during the 1920s was so complete, there were no failures or liquidations in the depression years of the thirties. This record was attained even though the dip in resources in the early 1930s recorded on Figure 2 was percentage-wise somewhat greater than that of the 1924 period. By the 1930s Wyoming’s national banks were financially postured and sufficiently case hardened to weather the storm. Clearly by the end of 1936, national bank resources had bounded back to pre-bank holiday conditions, indicating an intrinsic strength in the surviving banks as well as gains in economic recovery, or at least a new stability in the adjusted Wyoming economy.

If things looked bleak on the national bank front in Wyoming during the early 1920s, they were nothing short of horrendous for the state and private banks (Figures 3 and 4). The purge involving the state supervised banks began in 1920 and lasted well into the 1930 depression years with but a slight lull in 1928 and 1929.

On February 28, 1920, the Wyoming State Examiner reported a record 110 state and private banks.¹ This number continued to grow with the chartering of five more banks before May 4, 1920. However, during that short period two banks went out of business through liquidations or mergers. The number of active state and private banks therefore stood at 113, a record figure that would hold only through the first week of September.

During June, 1920, a harbinger of events to come descended when the Bank of Arvada failed. This marked Wyoming’s first bank failure since December, 1903.² Between February 20, 1920, and December 31, 1927, a

“Forty-seven of the 76 closings were outright failures, not counting three banks which failed but later reopened.”

total of 133 state and private banks engaged in business in Wyoming.³ But the grim reaper had already arrived with a voracious appetite in 1920 and would begin dropping his checkered flag over no less than 76 (57 percent) of these institutions within the next seven years (see table, pages 42-43). Forty-seven of the 76 closings were outright failures, not counting three banks which failed but later reopened. The remaining 29 banks disappeared through mergers or liquidations.

Failures in the state banking system continued to wreak havoc through the mid-1930s. Thousands of depositors found their funds tied up in receiverships that paid dividends slowly and which returned only fractions of the original deposits. By the end of 1927, the 1920 total of 113 state and private banks was decimated to 57; by the end of 1936 the total was down to 32.⁴

The major impact of World War I on the frontier state of Wyoming was an unprecedented boom in agriculture. The number of cattle almost doubled between 1914 and 1918 and prices went through the roof.⁵ By 1920, steers were selling for \$150 per head. Another factor contributing to the boom was Wyoming was still open to homesteading. In fact, incentives to homestead nonirrigable lands were increased by an act dated February 19, 1909, which doubled the free land available under the original 1862 Homestead Act to 320 acres.⁶ As prices for grains began their spiraling climb in response to the war effort, dryland

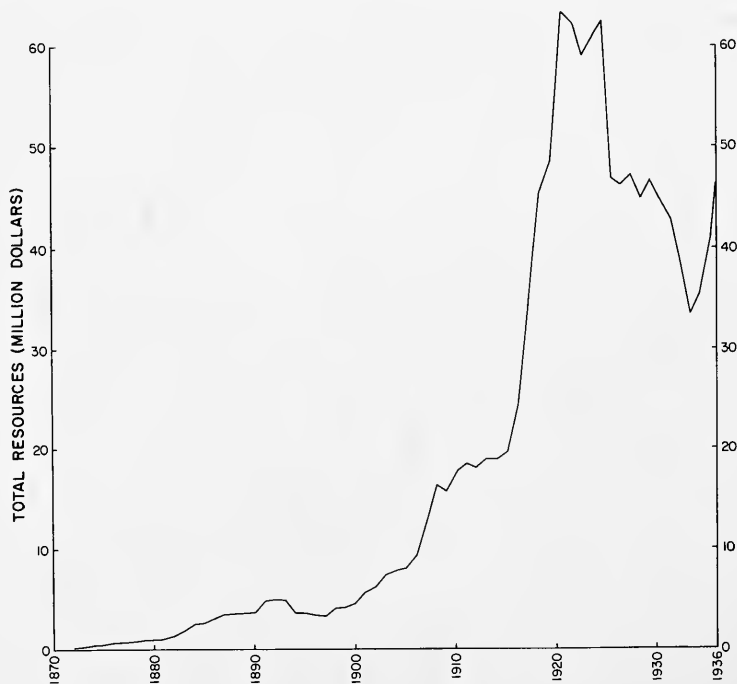
homesteaders found it profitable to plant crops such as wheat.

The boom was fueled by feverish speculation in banking and real estate. The inflation in agricultural commodities coupled with euphoria that prosperity was here to stay created a climate where banks loaned readily to dryland homesteaders on the promise of continued production, and to stockmen on vastly inflated range herds now heavily populating the state. Dozens of new banks were organized on shoestrings in order to capitalize these ventures. Inflation multiplied the values of the land, stock and grain resources which could be credited on the positive side of bank ledgers as collateral against loans.

The overheated economy had sufficient momentum that it careened unabated for a year after the armistice on November 11, 1918. However, after the war several factors converged. Among them were hoards of returned soldiers thrust into an economy totally unprepared for them. No massive federal programs awaited them to insure their orderly assimilation into their homeland economy. Unemployment became a major concern. A major shock was the shattered European economy. Left to its own devices, the recovery of the devastated European economy floundered. Without even a hint of prosperity in Europe, that major agricultural market dried up overnight.

By the end of 1920, the peak of prosperity had passed and American agriculture in general, and western agri-

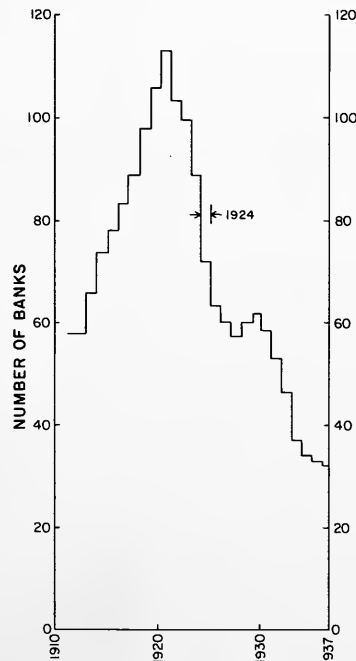
Figure 2



Total resources of national banks operating in Wyoming, 1871-1935.

Town	Bank	Reason for Failure	Date
FAILED:			
Rock River	First National Bank	Large losses, defalcation of officers	June 14, 1923
Manville	First National Bank	Heavy withdrawals	Dec. 11, 1923
Lusk	First National Bank	Depleted reserve	Feb. 7, 1924
Lingle	First National Bank	Unable to realize on assets	Mar. 19, 1924
Torrington	Torrington National Bank	Heavy withdrawals	Mar. 19, 1924
Powell	Powell National Bank	Heavy withdrawals	Mar. 27, 1924
Newcastle	First National Bank	Large losses, withdrawals, and insufficient credit	June 12, 1924
Basin	First National Bank	Depreciation of securities	June 14, 1924
Cheyenne	First National Bank	Injudicious Banking	July 9, 1924
Cheyenne	Citizens National Bank	Unable to realize on assets	July 21, 1924
Torrington	First National Bank	Local financial conditions	Dec. 16, 1924
LIQUIDATED:			
Newcastle	Newcastle National Bank		Dec. 1, 1922
Douglas	First National Bank		Dec. 15, 1923
Casper	National Bank of Commerce		July 18, 1924
Rawlins	Stockgrowers National Bank		Oct. 28, 1924
Shoshoni	First National Bank		Nov. 29, 1924
Worland	First National Bank		Dec. 29, 1924
Thermopolis	First National Bank of		Feb. 21, 1925
Casper	Citizens National Bank		April 19, 1927
Hanna	First National Bank		May 2, 1927
Rock Springs	First National Bank		Nov. 7, 1927
Parco	First National Bank		Dec. 31, 1927
Casper	Stockmen's National Bank		Feb. 11, 1928
Sheridan	Sheridan National Bank		Mar. 10, 1928
Powell	Powell National Bank		Feb. 2, 1929

Figure 3



State, private and savings banks, and trust companies operating in Wyoming, 1911-1936.

culture in particular, began reeling from the severe contraction as overproduced agricultural commodities competed for a seemingly bottomless floor.

John T. McDonald, eastern Wyoming banker, lamented in his 1924 address as president of the Wyoming Bankers Association, that in Wyoming \$150 steers fell to \$60, cows went from \$75 to \$25, choice farmland from \$250 to \$75 an acre, and Torrington potatoes were a glut at 40 cents per 100 pounds.⁷ In retrospect, McDonald's anxiety was particularly poignant. Every one of the banks in which he held a major interest was gone by the end of the year, including the flagship of the chain, the First National Bank of Torrington.

During this period, bankers left records that bring sympathy to their plight.⁸ But what of the farmers who plowed the eastern Wyoming prairie in response to patriotic urgings and profit incentives during the war years? Many, faced with bank loans based on boom land and commodity prices, and sales of crops at below cost, quietly walked away from their farms. It was a precursor of the great midwestern migration that would occur in the next decade. Wyoming bankers were left holding the bag and they searched frantically for scapegoats.

On the front page of the Wednesday, July 9, 1924, *Wyoming State Leader* of Cheyenne, is a second level headline announcing "Two National Banks Closed in Cheyenne." The casualties were the First National Bank of Cheyenne, which was the first national bank chartered in Wyoming, and Citizens National Bank of Cheyenne. George Abbott, president of the First National, stated in an interview that there were three reasons for his failure: depreciation in cattle, agricultural commodities and land; excessive taxation; and the policy of his bank of going to the aid of other faltering banks in the region. Faltering they were—the next day the *Leader* reported the closing of four more Wyoming state banks and one in a nearby town in Colorado.⁹

Others offered reasons for the economic blight. R. W. Collins in addressing the Wyoming Bankers Association, saw roots of the problem in the dry summer of 1919 and severe winter that followed (see Figure 5). He concluded that this stunned the agricultural sector, a reverse that was compounded with the "bad luck" of falling prices. In his address he also complained of the inadequacy of bank examinations, both state and national, which could have aided the banker. "They were not qualified to give us the words of caution that most of us needed at the time."¹⁰ The words of caution that Collins, the experienced Wyoming banker, wanted from the examiners were in his words: "Had our loans of 1919 and 1920 been based on livestock values covering a period of years, had the loans been made only to men who understood the business and who were equipped to properly take care of their stock, had we always kept in mind normal values in place of the inflated values of the period, we would have escaped the headaches that came to us."¹¹

The perspective of State Bank Examiner Newlin was one of foresight in 1918.¹² He recommended legislation forcing directors of state banks to own at least five percent of the capital stock of their banks rather than the current one percent, thus encouraging them to look after their investments more seriously. He also favored a law prohibiting officers and directors from borrowing amounts in excess of 10 percent of the capital and surplus of their banks.

The word "surplus" was missing from the vocabularies of many state bankers. It was common practice for state banks to declare dividends to shareholders which wiped out all accumulated surpluses. Newlin wanted to see a provision whereby banks would over a period of time be forced to accumulate surpluses amounting to at least 50 percent of the capital, protecting depositors from the full risks of bad debts.¹³

In 1920 State Examiner R. J. Hoffman reiterated these legislative pleas, further requesting that the banks pay a fee for examinations, thus facilitating the duties of his department in supervising the banks.¹⁴ By the time of Hoffman's report, the dry summer of 1919 and bad winter of 1920 were history, and he reported: "The banks throughout the state have been placed under a severe strain in order to meet the credit demands of their customers. They were obliged to finance them in shipping stock into other states where feed was available and in buying feed at high prices for stock held in the state. As a consequence, the banks were obliged to strain their credit to the limit and borrowed large amounts through rediscounts and bills payable. About half the state banks have been running on low reserves during the present year."

By the time Hoffman filed his 1922 biennial report in October, he had seen 11 state bank failures, only one from his preceding biennium. He could only report: "This period has undoubtedly been one of the hardest through which the banks of this state have ever gone . . . The experiences of this department for the last two years have brought out many weaknesses of our present banking laws . . ."¹⁵ He recommended increasing the capital required to organize a state bank from \$10,000 to \$25,000, placing a limit on the amount of business that could be conducted by banks based on capital invested, fixing limits on the rediscounting of assets and practice of endorsing paper "without recourse," requiring that officers and employees furnish security bonds, and making it impossible for a stockholder to sell his stock in a failing bank in an effort to escape liability.¹⁶ The previous calls for legislation to create surplus accounts and restricting loans to officers and directors were again reiterated.

Banking in Wyoming, both state and national, suffered enormous damage. The crunch focused on banks heavily extended to the eastern dryland farmers and banks throughout the state which carried stockgrowers involved in both cattle and sheep. The burden fell dominantly on undercapitalized rural banks, and heavily on banks formed



Prior to 1936, national banks had the privilege of issuing currency bearing the bank title and signatures of two bank officers. This currency, printed in Washington, D.C., was secured by bonds deposited by the banks with the U.S. Treasurer. The "circulation" of a bank was the total dollar value of its outstanding notes at any given time.

(BONDS COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR)

during the rising curve of the World War I years. National banks as well as state banks in similar circumstances suffered equally.

Wyoming Bankers Association President McDonald, on the eve of his own tragic bank failures, was driven to new insights. He observed: "The past three annual meetings of this Association have been filled with the lugubrious moans of the deflated, those in course of deflation, and those about to be deflated, plus the loud assurances of wise men out of the East that deflation is good for the soul, and that a little hair of the dog that bit it will cure the pain . . ." ¹⁷

McDonald went on with wry cynicism:

It has been said that a period of depression is nothing more than a state of mind. This saying is supported by biblical authority: 'As a man thinketh, so is he.' According to this reasoning, all that we of the Northwest have to do to bring about an unprecedented era of prosperity is vote Republican, wear a silly smile and chant sweetly with Coue: 'Every day in every way, we are getting better and better.'

As McDonald spoke on September 5, 1924, the system upon which he had optimistically built his own house of cards was pulling the rug from under him.

Because banking is a human endeavor, it is never sufficient to develop a simple list of the banks involved in a period such as described here. The true fascination comes in discovering who was involved, how they operated, and with whom they associated. The existing record is skeletal at best. Missing are minutes of board meetings which would provide clues into interpersonal interactions and motives. Vague hints—often incomplete—which drop a few names here and there to titillate the curiosity are all that can be found.

Of the 76 banks which failed, consolidated or liquidated during the 1920 to 1926 period, a list of 1920-1921 presidents and cashiers for all but one bank from state examiner reports was compiled. ¹⁸ In two boxes of mixed records in the State Examiner's office were incorporation papers for 36 of the 76 deceased 1920-1926 banks spanning the years 1894 to 1922. ¹⁹ Although these records involved only about half of the banks of interest, the initial lists of incorporators and shareholders were revealing. In the same boxes were charters for 31 of the 76 banks, some for banks other than those represented in the articles of incorporation. Names and dates gleaned from these various sources could be compared to national bank data to help flesh out the total state bank scene. ²⁰

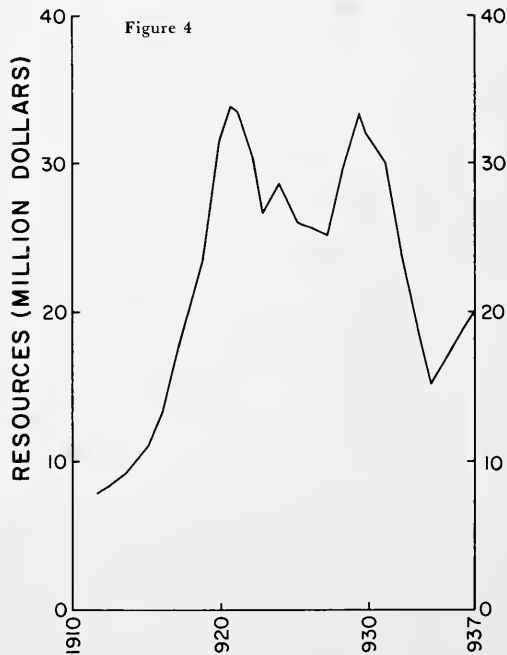
In the majority of cases, the state and national banks were separate entities, each with independent officers and shareholders. However, in a number of cases were similar lists of shareholders, interlocking officers, and surprising alliances between members of distinctly different groups of bankers joining in new ventures. The terse summaries that follow are based on the incomplete data developed from these sources.

On October 6, 1908, Henry S. Clarke, Jr., John T. McDonald, and E. P. Perry organized the First National

Bank of Torrington. ²¹ It appears that this was the first bank that they became involved with in Wyoming, so the bank would serve as the flagship for their future chain. Torrington is located along the North Platte River just west of the Nebraska state line and is the center of a large farming region comprised of both dryland and irrigated crop land. This district was one of the most seriously impacted of the boom-bust agricultural areas.

Clarke, apparently always in the company of McDonald, and usually with Perry, founded or gained a controlling interest in five state banks: Torrington State Bank, Lingle State Bank, Fort Laramie State Bank, Commercial State Bank of Guernsey, and the Cheyenne State Bank. With the exception of the Cheyenne State Bank, each of these enterprises was situated in a town along U.S. Highway 26 where it parallels the North Platte River just west of Torrington.

The Torrington State Bank, their selfmade competitor to the First National, did not fail, but rather it went out of business in the winter of 1918-1919. Apparently it finally merged with the First National Bank. All the banks in the chain were modest in terms of total resources for their settings, including the First National Bank of Torrington. Each was feeding off the speculative boom in agriculture taking place in the Platte Valley. The move to acquire control over the Cheyenne State Bank can be seen as a sign of growing confidence as these men rode to the crest of the boom.



Total resources of state, private and savings banks, and trust companies operating in Wyoming, 1911-1936.

The post-1920 deflation in agriculture seriously depleted reserves, and suddenly in 1924, Wyoming was overtaken by one of its worst drought years on record (see Figure 5). Depositors began to panic as they realized the banks containing their funds could not collect on delinquent loans.

The Fort Laramie State Bank disappeared early in 1924. The Lingle State and Cheyenne State banks went into receiverships on December 10, 1924. The First National Bank of Torrington failed and was placed in receivership on December 16. The Commercial State Bank of Guernsey also was gone by the end of December but how and why remains a mystery. It probably failed along with the others in mid-December. J. T. McDonald, president of the Wyoming Bankers Association, was no longer in banking. Another area banker was in similar trouble.

Benjamin Franklin Yoder joined the eastern Wyoming banking fraternity in a big way between 1917 and 1919.²² This was the height of the boom and a period during which people had convinced themselves that prosperity was here to stay. Like the Clarke group, Yoder focused his attention on the agricultural belt surrounding the North Platte Valley, but his influence spread to towns more distant from the river.

Yoder's style was highly visible. He usually installed himself as president of the banks which he controlled. In 1922 his chain included the Glendo State Bank and Bank

of Glenrock, both founded in 1917; the Torrington National Bank and First National Bank of Manville, both organized in 1919; and the Citizens National Bank of Cheyenne which he took over in 1918. He also was a principal in the Platte County State Bank of Wheatland, but apparently was not its president. Yoder appears to have severed his relationship with the Citizens National Bank of Cheyenne in 1924.

The Platte County State Bank, capitalized at \$20,000, was the first to fail. It closed on February 17, 1923. But the First National Bank of Manville, capitalized at only \$25,000, was the first of Yoder's national banks to run into trouble. The bank sustained a run and was forced into receivership on December 11, 1923. It holds the distinction of being the first of Wyoming's national banks to succumb to the post-war depression, although plenty of state banks had already gone under by that time.²³

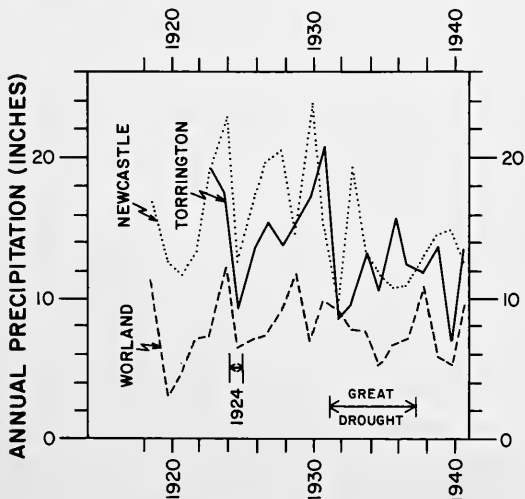
Next to fail, on March 19, 1924, was the Torrington National Bank, also closed by a run. This closing was followed on July 9, by Yoder's former holding, the Citizens National Bank which closed along with the First National Bank of Cheyenne. The Citizens National Bank was in the hands of a receiver on July 21, 1924. The Bank of Glenrock disappeared early in 1924, fate unknown, and the Glendo State Bank was placed in a receivership at the same time. However, the Glendo State Bank was restored to solvency and lasted until 1926 when it expired of unknown causes. It is possible that Yoder was able to "unload" it along the way.

These sad events left B. F. Yoder a dispirited man with his hands full of litigation. Gladys Jones of Cheyenne remembers that summer day when both the First National Bank and Yoder's former Citizens National Bank closed. Her father returned home early from his job and advised his daughter and the rest of the family to stay away from the business district that afternoon. The crowds gathering downtown around the two closed banks looked "rowdy and potentially volatile."²⁴ Meanwhile, all was not well two counties north, either.

The picturesque town of Newcastle is south of the Black Hills a few miles inside Wyoming's eastern border. U.S. Highway 16 west to Devils Tower passes through scenic rolling country and through the small towns of Osage, Upton and Moorcroft. These towns were the domain of John L. Baird, a banker who was instrumental in founding the First National Bank of Newcastle on March 23, 1904. The dominant figure in the early history of the bank was Thomas A. Cosgriff, an entrepreneur who established or owned stock in a host of state and national banks in the region. Baird served as cashier of the bank in 1904 and 1905, then apparently bought out Cosgriff to become president in 1911, a post he held until the bank failed in 1924.²⁵

Baird, following the example of Cosgriff, invested in other banks. He became president of the First National Bank of Worland in 1912 and served in that capacity until

Figure 5



Annual precipitation at three agricultural centers in Wyoming, 1918-1940. Note the sharp decline in 1919-1920 and 1924 which intensified instabilities in banks in those regions. (Wyoming Water Resources Research Institute data).

67 Wyoming Towns Lost Banks in the Period . . .

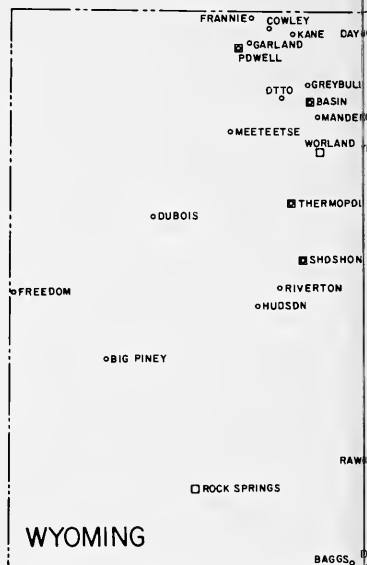
Wyoming State Banks which went out of business during the eight years 1920 to 1927. F - failure; C - consolidated with another bank; L - liquidated. Sources of data include Cheyenne Leader (1924b), Hoffman (1922), Wyoming State Examiner (periodic, various dates-a).

Town	Bank	Reason and Date (if known)
1920		
Arvada	Bank of Arvada	F
Casper	Citizens State Bank	C or L
Hanna	Carbon State Bank	C or L
Lusk	Bank of Lusk	F
Meeteetse	State Bank of Meeteetse	F-Dec. 22
Otto	Otto State Bank	C or L
Ross	LeRoy Moore, Banker	C or L
1921		
Dayton	The Dayton Bank	C or L
Garland	Garland State Bank	F
Gillette	Citizen's State Bank	F



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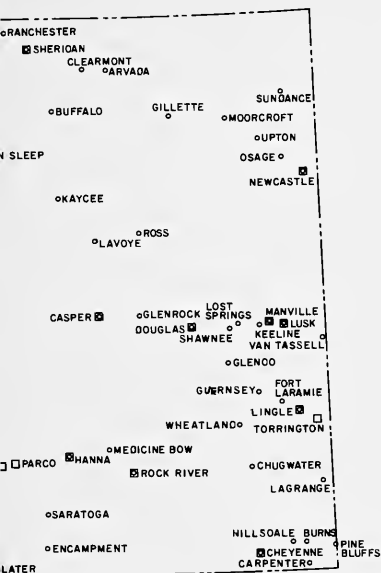
J. L. Baird—his northeastern Wyoming banking empire collapsed in 1924.



Towns in Wyoming which lost state banks (squares) between 1920 and 1930

(MAP COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR)

Guernsey	Guernsey State Bank	F
Kaycee	Powder River State Bank	F-Oct. 20
Moorcroft	Moorcroft Bank	F-Aug. 5
Moorcroft	People's Bank	F-Oct. 29
Powell	Farmer's State Bank	C or L
Rock River	Rock River State Bank	C or L
Slater	Farmers' State Bank	C or L
Sundance	Citizens' Bank	C or L
Upton	Citizens State Bank	F-Oct. 27
1922		
Basin	Big Horn County Bank	F-May 15
Cheyenne	Wyoming Trust and Savings Bank	C or L
Frannie	Bank of Frannie	
Greybull	Commercial Bank	C or L
Kane	First State Bank	
Manville	Bank of Manville	C
1923		
Big Piney	Marbleton State Bank	F-July 5
Buffalo	Stockgrowers Bank	
Chugwater	State Bank of Chugwater	
Dixon	Stockgrowers' Bank	
LaGrange	Stockgrowers State Bank	F-June 14
Lusk	Wyoming State Bank	
Medicine Bow	Stockmen's State Bank	F



(es) between 1920 and 1927, and national
ugh liquidations, mergers or failures.



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B. F. Yoder—his banks at Wheatland, Manville,
Torrington, Glenrock and Glendo all failed in 1923-24.

Ranchester	Ranchester State Bank				
Sheridan	Sheridan Trust and Farmers Bank C				
Wheatland	Platte County State Bank	F-Feb. 1			
1924					
Buffalo	Johnson County Bank	F-Sept. 10			
Carpenter	Bank of Carpenter	F-July 9			
Cheyenne	Cheyenne State Bank	F-Dec. 10			
Clearmont	Clearmont State Bank	F-Apr. 23			
Cowley	Cowley State Bank	F-July 9			
Douglas	Commercial Bank and Trust Co.				
Fort Laramie	Fort Laramie State Bank				
Glenrock	Bank of Glenrock				
Guernsey	Commercial State Bank				
Hillsdale	Hillsdale State Bank	F-July 9			
Kaycee	First State Bank	F-Nov. 24			
Keeline	Bank of Keeline	F-July 10			
Lavoie	Salt Creek State Bank				
Lingle	Lingle State Bank	F-Dec. 10			
Manderson	Manderson State Bank	F-May 25			
Newcastle	Weston County Bank	F-Feb. 2			
Osage	Osage State Bank	F			
Riverton	First State Bank				
Sheridan	Citizens' State Bank	F-May 15			
Thermopolis	Thermopolis State Bank	F-June 10			
Upton	Bank of Upton	F-July 9			
Van Tassell	Bank of Van Tassell				
1925					
Baggs	First State Bank				F-Jan. 27
Burns	Burns State Bank				C
Hudson	Farmers and Mechanics Bank				
Lavoie	Bank of Salt Creek				F-Jan. 17
Shawnee	Bank of Shawnee				
Sheridan	Sheridan Banking Company				C
Sheridan	Sheridan County Savings Co.				C
Shoshoni	Shoshoni State Bank				F
Ten Sleep	Stockgrowers' Bank				
1926					
Freedom	Freedom State Bank				
Glendo	Glendo State Bank				
Lost Springs	Citizens State Bank				
Pine Bluffs	Pine Bluffs State Bank				
Saratoga	Stockgrower's State Bank				
1927					
Dubois	Amoretti, Welty, Helmer and Co.				
Encampment	Encampment State Bank				
Greybull	First State Bank				
Riverton	Farmers' State Bank				
Shoshoni	First State Bank				

1914 when he apparently sold his Worland interests. He also helped incorporate the Bank of Moorcroft on December 28, 1909, along with T. A. Cosgriff, and George E. Abbott and A. D. Johnson of the First National Bank of Cheyenne. The ultimate fate of that bank is not known although it is probable that it never opened.

By 1921, J. L. Baird was serving as president of the Osage State Bank, Bank of Upton and First National Bank of Newcastle. Trouble came for all these banks in 1924. The First National Bank of Newcastle sustained a run which, combined with large losses and insufficient credit, forced it into receivership on June 12, 1924. The Osage State Bank failed at about the same time and the Bank of Upton failed on July 9. The Baird banking enterprise had collapsed, and most of the citizens of northeastern Wyoming were without banking services as a result.

From the lists of shareholders on the incorporation papers and officers listed on the examiner's reports it appears that banking in the 1910 to 1922 period was besieged by a speculative boom similar to the one recently witnessed in penny oil stocks. A number of names appear time and again. Because a director had to own only one percent of the capital stock of a state bank, one could become a director in a small bank capitalized at \$10,000 for only \$100. Some enterprising bankers did quite well, others not so well.

In 1921, A. H. Marble is listed as the president of the Cheyenne State Bank (later taken over and lost by the Clarke group), Wyoming Trust and Savings Bank of Cheyenne, Stockgrowers Bank of LaGrange, Farmers State Bank of Slater, and the important Stockgrowers National Bank of Cheyenne. If this is not enough, Marble was also president of the Montana National Bank of Billings. The State Bank of Slater and Wyoming Trust and Savings Bank of Cheyenne were liquidated under honorable circumstances in 1921 and 1922, respectively. The Stockgrowers Bank of LaGrange failed on June 14, 1923, but at the time Marble may have dissassociated himself from it like he had with the ill-fated Cheyenne State Bank. In any event, Marble's major interests, the Stockgrowers National Bank and Montana National Bank survived the depression years and he continued to serve as their presidents well beyond that time.

George E. Abbott, president of the First National Bank of Cheyenne, was financially involved in numerous Wyoming state banks, sometimes with his cashier, A. D. Johnson. In general these investments did not work out well and this may have helped to propel the First National Bank of Cheyenne to its grave in 1924. Interestingly, Abbott sometimes appears on the same shareholder lists as Thomas A. Cosgriff. Thomas A., John B., and James E. Cosgriff seem to hold the record for investing in banks throughout Wyoming and the region in the 1900 to 1930 period. The Cosgriffs survived the depression years virtually unscathed and eventually consolidated their position in Denver.

Where there were once 133 active banks, by 1927 only the strongest 57 were left. By 1936 there were only 32 banks doing business in the state. For Wyoming depositors and bankers, the depression started in 1924, "the year of the bank failures."

1. Wyoming State Examiner, Periodic abstracts of reports made to the examiner showing the condition of state, private and savings banks and loan and trust companies in the state of Wyoming, 1920.
2. R. J. Hoffman, "Biennial Report of the State Examiner from Oct. 1, 1920- Sept. 30, 1922," report to Gov. Robert D. Carey (typewritten), State Examiner's files.
3. Wyoming State Examiner, Periodic abstracts . . . , 1927.
4. *Ibid.*, 1936.
5. T. A. Larson, *Wyoming: A Bicentennial History*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1977), p. 134
6. *Ibid.*
7. J. T. McDonald, "Address of President McDonald: Wyoming Bankers Association Proceedings of the 16th Annual Convention," Riverton, Wyoming, Sept. 5, 1924, pp. 8-9.
8. H. B. Henderson, "Report of the Secretary: Wyoming Bankers Association Proceedings of the 16th Annual Meeting," Riverton, Wyoming, Sept. 5, 1924, pp. 16-23.
9. *Wyoming State Leader*, July 10, 1924.
10. R. W. Collins, "Address to the Wyoming Bankers Association Proceedings of the 16th Annual Convention," Riverton, Wyoming, Sept. 5, 1924, pp. 8-9.
11. *Ibid.*
12. J. C. Newlin, "Biennial Report of the State Examiner from Sept. 30, 1916—Oct. 1, 1918," report to Gov. Frank Houx (typewritten), State Examiner's files.
13. *Ibid.*
14. R. J. Hoffman, "Biennial Report of the State Examiner, Sept. 30, 1918 - Oct. 1, 1920," report to Gov. Robert D. Carey (typewritten), State Examiner's files.
15. Hoffman, 1922.
16. *Ibid.*
17. McDonald, p. 8-9.
18. Wyoming State Examiner, "Miscellaneous Files," containing articles of incorporation for state banks, state bank charters, examiner's reports on conditions of state banks, 1918, 1920, 1922.
19. *Ibid.*
20. "Annual Reports of the Comptroller of the Currency," U.S. Treasury Department, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, various dates).
21. Information for the biographies is from numerous newspaper articles, biographical files and other materials in the collections of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne; C. S. Peterson, *Men of Wyoming* (Denver: privately printed, 1915).
22. *Ibid.*
23. Note that the First National Bank of Rock River which had failed the previous June had been looted from within, a circumstance unrelated to the economic conditions of the time.
24. Interview of Gladys Jones, Cheyenne, 1981.
25. AMH Department files.

A Young Man Comes of Age:

The Letters of Charles Rapp

By Keith Beyer

The letters on which this article is based are in the Charles Rapp Collection, Harold McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Historical Center.

On April 14, 1875, young Charles Rapp wrote home to Columbia Center, New York, from Camp Brown, Wyoming Territory. He had started west some time in 1874, partly as a result of his own temperament and propensity for getting into trouble. "I was wild, and the farther that I got away from home, the farther I wanted to get."

But in the three years spanned by the 14 letters he sent to Eva Shepard, he grew into manhood and acceptance of the fate that sent him so far away from the home he knew and the people he loved. Also in those three years, he stumbled by historic events, but he understood them and the people involved in them only in the biased way many white Americans understood them.

In his earliest letters he was homesick. He frequently predicted the time he would return to New York, but above all, he asked for letters; he cajoled, scolded, even begged for letters. He tried to tell Eva where he would be in the future, so she would know where to send his letters. From Camp Brown, for example, he planned to "go up in the Gold mines about a Hundred miles South . . .," but eventually he spent the majority of his gold-seeking time at Miner's Delight near South Pass.

In his own way, he described the beauties of Wyoming Territory to Eva, especially the colors and richness of plant life. In many of his letters, he displayed a sensitivity to the beauty of good weather and sunshine, and to what he called "his own bird," the meadowlark. Later, when his homesickness began to wear away, he spoke of the trout to be fished for, the young badgers he dug up for pets, or the thrill of the hunt "when I get to following a Deer or Sheep."

But there was one feature of the Wyoming Territory for which he had no use: "they are danceing tonight out on the open ground and such a noise you never heard as thay make yelling and screaming it is now about Twelve o'clock but thay Dance all night untill tomorrow noon." This was the most positive thing he had to say about Native Americans.

In his next letter, the second in the series to Eva, he noted an encounter in which "we got two of our men wounded and three Horses killed. . . ." Within nine months, he wrote from "Camp Pepper" that a band of Snake Indians came into the valley and frightened the miners because they were thought to be Sioux. Most whites considered the Snakes to be "good Indians," Charlie wrote that he had seen "but one good Indian and he was dead."

Charlie's feelings against Native Americans were never really mitigated. Many of his letters mention conflicts between Native Americans and whites, some leading to death. On April 26, 1877, he wrote from Lander City that Indians were worse than ever, "stealing everything thay can and murdering everybody that thay can." They ran off 20 head of horses, killed three men and "wounded one Poor Fellow so bad that it took him six days to go

thirty”

Charlie had opportunities to alter his views, but he turned away from such options. Once a Snake chief correctly advised Charlie that more troops were needed to combat the Sioux who he believed were going on the warpath in the spring of 1876. Of course, the chief was correct, because Custer fought and lost the Battle of the Little Big Horn in June of that year.

Later, Charlie claimed friendship with Chief Washakie, who made him a “presant of A very nice Ponie and a Bridle made of Hair. . . .” Charlie also noted that Washakie “has always been friendly to me and what few wite men there is in this country. . . .” But “some of his braves are bad Indians” colored Charlie’s main view, and his earlier wish that General Crook “would exterminate them all and send them to the happy Hunting Ground” summed up his attitude.

In October of 1876, Charlie wrote Eva that he was at the Custer Battlefield three days after the battle. There is no way of knowing if this is true, but there was considerable traffic among the miners between Lander and the Black Hills. Furthermore, Charlie said repeatedly that he was going to the Black Hills, so there is reason to believe he could have been there. He wrote:

the scene at the Custer Battle ground was Heartrending and one never to be forgotten. I was there three days after the Battle and I never want to witness anything of the kind again. how many A poor Mother mourns the loss of her dear boy, for the most of them were young men. lots of them only in thair teens.

Charlie’s description of the battleground was different for him, especially in its diction. But perhaps the enormity of the experience provoked him to give the event the significance he felt it should have. The other possibility is that Charlie, like others in the West, was reading newspapers from back East and parroted the language and tone, and, in particular, the elements that held the imagination of those who only knew the West from the words of others. It must be concluded that no one will ever be able to verify Charlie’s experiences in the West.

In any case, Charlie was in Wyoming at a time when events happened quickly, and when even minor incidents had significance in helping to shape the future. He was a part of these happenings, and his observations, while not contributing new knowledge, at least reconfirm the experiences and mood of the time. He described a dance held when some Mormons spent several nights at Miner’s Delight; he related how Lander was growing; he admired the settlers coming in, especially the women who braved every hardship; and he once humorously noted that he was writing from Camp Centennial: “I named my Presant camp centennial because you [Eva] say everything has centennial attached to it at home.”

While there is some information of historical interest in his letters, perhaps the most important element in them is what is learned of Charlie Rapp. To begin, he came to Wyoming seeking gold and, probably, avoiding some

problem back home.

Charlie’s first three letters to Eva were mailed about a month apart, beginning on April 14, 1875. He told only a little of the new country he was in; instead, it was clear that he was homesick. He wanted letters, from the “Home of my Boyhood.” And he talked mostly of people and events he and Eva knew together. He wrote to Eva of his strong desire to be back at hop picking time and to have some pepper sauce and cider. He said he wanted to come home now rather than next winter or spring.

But by the fall, he was somewhat over his homesickness—he had gold fever. When he still mentioned hop picking time, he was not sure he wanted the pepper sauce—it was too hot. Even though he said he was homesick, the content of his September letter indicated he was much less so. For one thing, his immediate future was in the West rather than in New York. He told Eva he would go to the Black Hills for the winter because “these diggens are all played out.” From this point on, when he talked of his next move, it was usually to another mining site, but rarely back to New York. At the end of two years, June of 1877, he stated clearly his new affliction—gold fever. He wanted to get over it, but he had seen much money made. “I have never seen such spendthrifts as some of these miners are that get rich in one summers work and then spend thair fortune during the winter.”

In this natural adaptation to his new land, one sees him coming to terms with the fate that he said sent him to the West. In his second letter to Eva, May 15, 1875, he wished his old teacher had used the birch rod more on him, because he could have used the schooling. But, he says, “I am a man now and my good school days is gone by.” The development of his letters shows this statement was not true. He was in a position where he had to accept manhood, but his acceptance did not really come until later. About a year after his second letter to Eva, December, 1876, he spoke with regret about an incident in Ilion, New York, that seemed to have sent him on his way to Wyoming. It can be inferred from this letter and others that he was involved in a fracas. He wrote that his nose was broken, and he considered himself disfigured.

He lamented the fortunes of his life, the “ups and downs” and troubles. He regretted leaving Eva’s house to go to Ilion. you remember the time don’t you I do and allways will. had I stayed there and let Ilion run itself wich I think it could without my assistance I might still be among my Friends. But I suppose that fate ment that I should go that way and that way I went.

It was at this time he finally sent the picture of himself to her. She had not seen him since his nose had been broken, and he simply did not have the courage to send a photograph. Curiously, he spoke of the image of himself in the photograph in the third person:

See if you can tell who this Fellow is with the Broken nose. he is an old friend of mine and I am afraid that he thinks more of me than he does of anybody else. changed somewhat since I left Old Columbia haven’t I.

He told Eva, "I have been a bad boy in days gone by, but I think I have improved some in the last four years, if I do say so myself." Finally, in this letter of June, 1877, one can see he had come to put his past in perspective. His tone was one of acceptance and resignation rather than remorse. He wanted Eva to tell a Mr. Browning that he was no fighter any longer. He had "grown as Mild & as Meek as a Lamb, well Broken and easily Handled." Above all, Charlie let Eva know he had no plans to return. He said he had changed a lot. "Do you think you will know me when I come Home in about 40 years from now?" By then, he wrote, he would have made his fortune.

From these letters, one can reasonably infer that Charlie was quick to fight and slow to fit comfortably into Columbia Center, and that he was probably very young when he first wrote from Lander in the spring of 1875. His relationship with Eva never seemed particularly affectionate, but on several occasions he made statements that could have encouraged such feeling in her. Early in the series of letters, Charlie learned that Eva's father has bought her grandfather's house. Charlie wrote that

I will have to come and bank his new house for him this fall, shant I. or has he got some other Little Peat now to do it for him. if there is a Peat there Makeing Banks for that House, he had better look out for this Little Peat when he comes Home there may be trouble.

Eva sometimes asked him how he looked or how he had changed, which led him eventually to promise a photograph. But it was clear in his last letter that he was telling her, gently, not to waste any emotion on him: "Do you think you will know me when I come Home in about

40 years from now?" Her letter to him must have mentioned some playfulness she and he had shared, because he wrote that she could surely handle him if she was as large as Libbia said she had become. Libbia was another girl in the Shepard household, probably Eva's sister. Finally, and in this the last letter in the series, he referred to their former quarrels and said "them times is all gone by now." There is a note of finality in these words, as though Eva was a part of his past.

This last letter in the series was mailed fully a year after the letter which showed his coming to manhood and acceptance. It is a letter that was particularly poignant and may reveal his emotional state upon hearing of his mother's death.

my Dear Friend you will never know what A mother is to you until it is to late. I am grieved so that I hardly know what to write. the weather here is like Summer the sun is shining here in the valley while five or six miles above here in the Mountains it is snowing like Fury.

There was in this quotation the unusual conjunction of his statement about the depth of his feelings, followed immediately and without introduction by a description of the weather. But what a description it was. It seems much like Charlie: sunny and controlled on the surface, but somewhere else in the vicinity "it is snowing like Fury." Perhaps this is the fury that got Charlie into trouble in New York.

This collection of letters at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center leaves no clue about what became of Charlie. It is not known if he left the West, when he died, or where. We only know that his story is partly and tantalizingly told.

The Story of Ernest and Lizzie Logan – A Frontier Courtship



SCHAEDEL COLLECTION. AMH DEPARTMENT

Editor's note:

The following article is material excerpted from a manuscript written by Grace Logan Schaedel, daughter of Wyoming pioneers, Ernest Logan and Lizzie Walker Logan.

Ernest Logan, the son of Hill Logan and Elizabeth Kille Logan, was born in Ohio and traveled to Wyoming with his mother and sister in 1871 to join his father who worked at Camp Carlin as an armorer. The younger Logan worked for a time in the carpentry shop at Carlin and later as a baker's apprentice where he learned to make candy.

His love of wide open spaces and skill with horses led him to seek work as a cowboy on ranches in Wyoming Territory. These were some of his happiest days and years later, he would recall with vivid clarity, many of his experiences and adventures.

Young Logan was employed by the Cheyenne to Deadwood stage line in 1881 and worked as a driver for that organization. It was at this time that he became life-long friends with such well-known Wyoming figures as Luke Voorhees and Russell Thorp. While the Indians had ceased to be the threat they were in the 1860s and 1870s, this was still considered a perilous occupation and the young men who worked for the stage line had to possess both courage and strength.

Hill Logan gave up his position at Camp Carlin in 1874 and with Homer Roberts, opened a hardware and tinsmith shop. He continued in this line of business until his death by drowning in 1878. He was returning home from his shop, walking across the frozen waters of Lake Minnehaha when he fell through a hole in the ice made by teamsters who had needed water for their horses.

Ernest became the head of the family, and although he continued to work on ranches as a cowboy, he spent his winters in

Cheyenne. During this period, he became a superb metal worker, producing beautiful bits and spurs with gold or silver inlay. His mother, incidentally, earned a well-deserved reputation as a community nurse through thoughtful and understanding care of the ill.

Lizzie Walker, who became Logan's wife in 1893, came west in 1886 to join her sister Jennie who had started a dress-making business in Cheyenne. Lizzie was skilled at pattern making and dress design, while her elder sister Jennie was an accomplished milliner. Between the two of them, they saw to it that the wives of such territorial greats as Joseph M. Carey and Francis E. Warren were elegantly dressed.

In 1891, Logan opened a book and stationery store that featured a soda fountain, home-made candy and ice cream. Over the years, the location changed several times and the shop evolved into one that specialized in Western curios and rare books on Western Americana. Because Cheyenne was a major stop on the Union Pacific Railroad, the shop became known from coast to coast and Logan made friends with many people traveling through town on their way to or from the Pacific Coast.

He and his wife Lizzie remained in Cheyenne all their lives, raising three children. Their youngest daughter, Grace Logan Schaedel, has based her work on memoirs written by her father, her own diaries and her recollections. The result is a fine example of folk history based in part on the oral tradition. Ernest Logan and Lizzie Walker are representative of the pioneer stock who came to Wyoming at a very exciting period in its history and who helped to build a unique state in the American West. Their courage and hard work are to be commended. Their story is one that gives us a fine picture of life in another era—that of Territorial Wyoming.



By

Grace

Logan

Schaedel

In 1877 and 1878 when Ernest Logan was 20, he went on an expedition, helping to trail 100 head of horses from Fort D. A. Russell to new Fort Keogh, Mont., near the present Miles City. The expedition was made up of 25 horse-handlers, 12 packers, and Bill Huston as boss of the pack train. There were five men to a tent. Dr. Compton, civilian contract doctor, traveled with them and their escort included 25 soldiers and a first sergeant. Lt. Andrus was in command of the entire outfit, starting out with them from Fort D. A. Russell.

The horses they were trailing north were well-bred stock, shipped in from Kentucky and Missouri, so they needed plenty of protection on the way to Keogh. The country was full of hostile Indians, who thought horse stealing was no sin. The West was still acutely aware of Custer's fate on the Little Big Horn, less than 18 months before.

Their guide, Frank Grouard, had lived with the Sioux on Powder River and was familiar with that part of the country. He became famous as a guide on many expeditions, later recorded in his book, *Life and Adventures of Frank Grouard, an Autobiography*.

It was the day after Christmas, 1877, when they left Fort D. A. Russell, starting out in a blizzard and traveling very slowly on the first lap of their horse-trailing expedition. Their first lay-over was at Fort Laramie, 96 miles north, where they had a three-day rest. The weather turned warmer as they headed for Fort Fetterman, another 100 miles to the northwest, but when they were within seven or eight miles of Fetterman, it started to snow and

another blizzard came up. They camped on LaPrele Creek that night and reached the garrison the next morning about 10 a.m. It was very cold and clear that morning. By night, the government thermometer at the hospital registered 36 below zero. Many froze their feet and ears.

About 2,000 Arapahoes were camped on the river near the fort. The expedition had barely finished making camp when 10 or 12 Indian children came over to the cook tent and watched, wistfully and silently. Dick Thomas, the cook, took a tin plate, poured it two-thirds full of molasses and handed it to the little girl about 10, who seemed to be their leader. Placing the pan in the snow, she motioned for them to help themselves to the molasses. From somewhere in the folds of their blankets, they each dug up a hardtack and, taking turns, carefully dipped up every drop of the thick syrup. There was no quarreling, or shoving. Telling about it afterward, Logan always said they made a pretty sight, as they so thoroughly enjoyed their treat. After a rest of three days at Fetterman, the expedition proceeded north to Cantonment Reno.

Logan said some 60 years later, "At Cantonment Reno, Lt. Goldman (who died a brigadier general) took over the command of our expedition and Lt. Andrus returned to Fort Russell. Here we were joined by Frank Grouard as guide. There was none better." His opinion of Frank Grouard as a guide and as a man was shared universally throughout the West. Grouard was one of 35 scouts who served under Gen. Crook. The general once remarked, "I would sooner lose a third of my command than Frank Grouard." Grouard's mother was from Hawaii and his resemblance to the Indians was strong.

The country was covered with about a foot of snow, so they had to travel on the ice of the river in some places; they couldn't make any time through the snow that covered the trail. Cloud Peak to the west was pure white above the blue foothills. It was said that Indians did not like to fight in bitter, snowy weather, preferring instead to remain in their lodges when possible. This may have been a factor in the safe passage through Indian-infested territory with such tempting bait. It may have been one reason for sending the horses north in midwinter. From Kentucky to Missouri to frigid Montana was a harsh change of climate for the 100 horses.

They had been going northeast and had turned north when Grouard and Huston stopped the outfit and went on ahead to look over the country before making camp for the night. There were Crows to the west and Sioux to the east but they stayed out of sight.

Logan later recalled:

I am reminded of how cold it was that day, by something that happened while we waited to make camp. There was a middle-aged Indian with us on this trip. He sat, hunched up on his horse, but as the cold became more intense, he slid off his horse and started stamping his feet, trying to get some warmth into them. Lt. Goldman turned to him and said, "It's pretty cold." The Indian grunted, walked away a short distance to a place where some dry grass was sick-

ing up through the snow, and gathered a handfull and started wadding it into a tight ball. He placed it on a bare spot on the ground and lighted it; then, pulling his blanket over himself and the fire, he proceeded to get warm. Toward evening, Grouard and Huston returned to the command, and we started out again. The wind came up and made the cold even more bitter.

Lt. Goldman's report after their return to Cantonment Reno, shows what rugged terrain they were traversing:

The valley of Crazy Woman's Creek is cut by many deep washings, and winds around many hills whose sides are very steep. From it to Lodge Pole (Clear Creek), the road is very broken and in many places the gulches are 30 feet deep, so that pack animals could hardly cross them. They cannot be avoided without a detour, according to the guide. Crossing the extreme left portion of the bad lands, no road could be constructed without great expense and labor. This portion was the most difficult and tiresome of all.

They went over the divide and came out at the head of Otter Creek in Montana and traveled down a short distance, where they camped. Some men shot a couple of buffalo, so they had welcome fresh meat for supper. Otter Creek was frozen solid. They had trouble getting enough water for cooking, and washed their faces and hands with snow.

The next morning they started down Otter Creek and were about five miles downstream when they heard two shots ahead of them, then five or six in rapid succession. The outfit closed up and concentrated in a small space, the horses in the middle. Grouard and Huston started out on a run for a high hill a quarter of a mile away. A hundred feet from the top, they dismounted and crawled up to the brow and, through field glasses, looked the country over. They finally signaled for the outfit to come on. They had seen, not Indians, but buffalo hunters.

They crossed Tongue River 17 times in 75 miles, but it was a fairly good wagon road. From this point, they went straight through to Fort Keogh and arrived at the garrison toward the end of January without loss of a single horse. They had averaged about 23 miles a day, which was doing well with the weather so cold and snow so deep.

Along the banks of the Tongue were strange-looking stumps of cottonwood about 12 or 15 feet high. It was easy to see that the trees had been cut down by squaws, beaver-wise, so their ponies could eat the buds and bark from the branches. The snow was so deep, the horses couldn't get down to the grass. In some of the tall trees along the stream, the bodies of dead warriors, sewn in rawhide, were fastened in the high branches.

While resting at Fort Keogh, Logan and a friend, Joe Houseaux, decided to wash their clothes and clean up a bit before starting home. For a washtub, they made a circle of rocks about two-and-a-half feet across and a foot deep, on the bank of the Tongue. They spread a tarp over this circle of rocks and, by putting a second circle inside the first, made a depression deep enough to hold water. Meanwhile they heated a pile of rocks in a good fire. They had

to chop a hole in the river ice to get water, and even get down into the hole to cut through to running water. By the time they had filled their tarp tub, the rocks were sizzling hot. Into the water they went, and soon it was hot enough for their soap and clothes—no small job for a couple of young fellows to wash, Indian fashion, and hang the clothes on the brush to dry.

They returned to Fort D. A. Russell much the way they had gone up, but traveled closer to Powder River to shorten the trip by six miles. Too, it was faster without the horses they had driven north . . .

. . . For several years in the 1880s, Logan rode the range in spring, summer and fall. When spring came, he could hardly wait to get back in the saddle. First the horse roundup and the calf-branding, summers with the cool Wyoming breezes fanning his cheeks, and the first little pink wild roses on the creek bottoms, then on into the beef roundup in the fall. For a time in 1878 he worked for Goldsmith and Eaton on the Diamond A Ranch, headquartered at Bull's Bend, southwest of Fort Laramie. Sometimes he missed seeing people in Cheyenne he would have liked to have seen again, such as W. H. Jackson, the U.S. Geological Survey photographer. The survey was camped at Carlin, headed for Yellowstone.

Rosy (Harry) Card, a longtime rancher at Manville, Wyoming, remembered in later years that in 1878 he and Logan rode together near Fort Laramie. In an interview with this writer in 1947, Card said:

After my initiation in the storm in March of 1878, soon after I got to Wyoming, the snow still lay on the ground in drifts late in the spring. I went in to Cheyenne and bought a four-point wool blanket. Ernest and I punched cows together for Sturgis, Lane and Godell on the Bridle Bit, on their range near Fort Laramie.

Harry Card had come to Wyoming, a young greenhorn from Ohio, and had worked first for T. W. Chaffee, and then on the Bridle Bit. The nickname "Rosy" was given him by Chalky, the foreman.

They was [sic] several other new hands, all a-settin' around the fire, and four of us by the name of Harry. So Chalky said, "This will never do. We got to name some of yuh somep' else. You!" he said to one, "you got red hair. We'll call you 'Pinky'." He turned to me, settin' there in a vest with red bindin'. "And you, Harry Card, we'll call you 'Rosy'." And you know, they called me Rosy for years and years.

* * * * *

The year 1878 drifted into December. After the fall roundup and shipping, Camp Carlin needed Logan again. A new man, a lieutenant in the Civil War, had come on the job as military storekeeper, asking questions about the territory, especially politics and mining. He had met Logan's father at the Roberts and Logan hardware store in Cheyenne. Ernest was to know him later as a Wyoming historian, I. S. Bartlett . . .

* * * * *

. . . In the blustery March of 1880, Logan took a riding job for Kingman on what was in 1883 to become

the Wyoming Hereford Ranch, seven miles east of Cheyenne. He had ridden for the original owners, Baxter and Bernard when he was 16. This time, he and two other hands were out hunting stock that had drifted south, near Galt, a deserted stage station just over the Colorado line. One of those sudden Rocky Mountain spring blizzards came up, and they were lucky to be near an old cabin in a draw where they could "hole up," with a wood fire in the little stove. The one problem was that they ran out of food.

Snowed in for two days, the three Kingman riders were plain hungry. When the wind let up a little, Logan offered to ride to the Chalk Bluffs Ranch and ask for enough grub for one more day. He put some of the boys' smoking tobacco in his pocket.

When he stepped down at the Chalk Bluffs house, he knocked, and a woodchopper named Jack Abney opened the door. Ernest told how they were snowbound at the old cabin to the south, and were hungry. He had money to pay. Abney listened without even a grunt, and made no move to invite him in, let alone offer him a cup of coffee. He started to shut the door.

Logan said, "I brought some tobacco."

Abney's face lighted up and, reaching out, he grabbed him by the front of his coat and pulled him in. "Why the hell didn't you say so?" Ernest went back with two day's groceries in a flour sack tied behind his saddle . . .

When gold was discovered in the Black Hills of South Dakota, the need for transportation overland of men, money, mail, gold - and women - prompted the establishment of a stage line from Cheyenne to Deadwood in 1876. Gilmer, Salisbury and Patrick, who had operated a stage line from Ogden, Utah, to Helena, Mont., in 1869, heard of the gold strike in the Black Hills and decided to set up a similar line from Cheyenne to Deadwood.

They sent H. E. (Stuttering) Brown to Cheyenne as a business scout. A shrewd company man, Brown bought up a new, half-formed stage line which Luke Z. Voorhees took over as superintendent. Brown was appointed superintendent on the dangerous run north of Fort Laramie. Voorhees later was a prominent cattleman and served as Wyoming territorial treasurer in 1888. The stage coach line proved to be one of the most dramatic ventures ever operated in Wyoming.

A stagecoach with valuable horses, traveling in wild unsettled country, miles from military protection, was a target for both Sioux on the rampage and white holdup men. The Indians resented the fact that as soon as gold was reported in the Black Hills, their treaty with the government promising to keep the white man south of the Platte River and out of the Indians' hunting ground north of it, was repeatedly violated. Prospectors swarmed over the area, demanding that their government protect them from Indians who attacked settlers north of the Platte, burning them out, stealing their horses, and sometimes torturing their families. But the vulnerable

coaches were their primary targets. White renegades, often disguised as Indians, also held up the stages and stole gold from the treasure chests, shooting drivers, shotgun messengers and any passengers who got in their way.

One day Stuttering Brown had a heated argument with the leader of a band of horse thieves and accused him of stealing a team of horses corralled for use on a stagecoach. The man denied it and vowed to get Brown. One April night in 1876, near the dangerous Hat Creek Station (north of present-day Lusk), Brown and two fellow-travelers were shot from ambush. Brown, mortally wounded, begged the man who found him to go after Superintendent Voorhees, so he could tell him who had shot him. Voorhees made the long ride almost to Hat Creek, only to learn that Brown's report of his assailant had died with him. Although the horse thief was suspected, the assailant was never apprehended.

Five years later, when Logan was on the scene, the Indians were pretty well subdued. After the spring roundup of 1881, when Voorhees offered Logan a job as a driver, Logan accepted before he told his mother. "I'll fix it with your mother," said Voorhees. He looked at Logan's slight figure up and down. "I'll explain that it won't be a big treasure coach, the kind to draw hold-ups. Anyway, the Sioux are mostly corralled on the Agencies nowadays."

In 1877, a friend of the Logan family, Johnnie Slaughter, had been the first driver on the Cheyenne Black Hills line to be killed. Johnnie had been a lot bigger and more experienced than young Logan. Logan knew how his mother was shocked by Johnnie's death.

Logan rode beside the driver, learning how to handle the lines of a six-horse team. It wasn't long before he climbed down at Rawhide Buttes and into a new job. In his estimation, it turned out to be too civilized. He saw Indians, but they were not the threat they had been earlier.

Once when he was driving with a married couple as passengers, a strap worked loose on the harness and, while he was fixing it, a man with a gun rode out from behind some rocks. The woman screamed, and Logan whipped out his six-gun. It was only a man from a nearby ranch, trailing a wolf that had killed a calf. His horse was jumpy from the smell of the wolf. Afterward, they heard two shots and hoped the man got a wolf hide. . . .

* * * * *

Logan was too young to realize the significance of the transitional period in western history of which he was a part. John Hunton, up from his home at Bordeaux, told him that Fort Laramie had been in four successive territories without ever moving an inch—Nebraska, Idaho, Dakota and Wyoming.

Logan met Hunton at the sutler's store, and heard him discuss with other pioneer ranchers details of the past events. Logan's name appears occasionally in Hunton's famous diaries.

Logan thought these men were justified when they

objected to some of the punishment of enlisted men at the fort, such as hanging a prisoner by his thumbs.

But a sociable young fellow also found much to enjoy in the commotion and color of a frontier fort, with wagon trains from everywhere arriving daily. Soldiers, afoot or on horseback, lowered the flag at sunset, sometimes to band music. Officers' ladies laughed and twirled their parasols. Young boys roamed the countryside, just as he and his sister had done in Carlin. Old men told tales of Indian battles, before the Indians were confined on the agencies.

The sutler's store, a long low adobe building, sold the essentials like flour, bacon, tobacco, liniment, castor oil and liquor. Buffalo hides were piled in a corner. The original structure had been built in 1836 by the American Fur Company for a company store. The army took over Fort Laramie in 1849. In 1852, the army retained part of the old thick-walled building and added a larger section, its doorway weathered to a stark grey

On his mail route, Logan might lend a stamp or lead a horse to Fort Laramie as a favor to a rancher—or even buy butter for the sutler.

One time I remember, because of the high price I had to pay for butter. The sutler at Fort Laramie, B. A. Hart, also in charge of the bachelors [sic] officers' mess at Old Bedlam, asked me to bring back some butter from Rawhide Buttes. He didn't care what price I had to pay, as long as I got the butter. It was so scarce, it brought as high as 50¢ a pound. A sister of Luke Voorhees, Mrs. Amasa Lowrie at the Buttes, made excellent butter and shipped it to Cheyenne.

Mrs. Lowrie had just packed 20 pounds to send to market when I went to her. At first she refused to sell me any. Said she had promised it to a firm in Cheyenne, but I finally persuaded her to part with all of it to me for one dollar a pound.

* * * * *

One ranch that Ernest visited was that of John McGinnis, ten miles north of Fort Laramie on Cottonwood Creek. There was always something going on. Mrs. McGinnis added a touch of excitement to his summer. Much later, in 1948, her daughter, Mrs. Tom Snow told of her visit for John Charles Thompson's column, "In Old Wyoming," Sept. 14, 1948:

Wyoming takes on an added flavor of remembrance in the summertime with the return of those early settlers who, in their later years, spend the winter in milder climates (Long Beach) and trek homeward to summer in Wyoming. Among these is Mrs. Tom Snow of Torrington, Wyoming, who has recently been calling on old friends in Cheyenne. She may complain a little of the altitude, or tell how many old-timers died since last summer, but her sense of humor is as lively as ever. Her white hair is just as becoming as were her red-gold braids in 1874 when she came to Cheyenne with her family from Illinois. To old-timers, she will always be Lizzie McGinnis

When the Black Hills gold fever struck Cheyenne in seventy-six, John McGinnis loaded his wife and four children into a wagon and headed north. But the Sioux were rampaging north of the Platte, and at Fort Laramie Mrs. McGinnis set her foot down. She refused to take her four children any farther until the Indians were subdued.

After six months at tatty Fort Laramie, McGinnis homesteaded on Cottonwood Creek, ten miles to the north and invested in cattle. There Lizzie watched soldiers, Black Hillers and notorious characters head north, the Black Hills fever in their eyes. To this day she cannot believe all the evil tales she hears about Calamity Jane because that shouting, cursing, female bull-whacker, in her fringed buckskin skirt, once sat in Mrs. McGinnis's best chair and ran her hand over Lizzie's red-gold hair until tears ran down her hard face at the memory of the little girl she herself had been.

John McGinnis died in 1880 . . . Mrs. McGinnis stayed on in Wyoming, operating her ranch home as a wayside inn or roadhouse, because travelers stopped and demanded beds and meals. Lizzie was 15 by that time, the only girl for miles around. She had been to Cheyenne to school for a few terms, but aside from that, most of her education had been on a horse and in her mother's house.

Mrs. McGinnis had the best floor in the country, and all the cowhands used to beg her to give dances. So she would mail invitations—Ernest Logan, then riding for the 4P outfit, wrote them for her once—and the boys would bring an old fiddle, a banjo and two or three mouthharps with which to beat out such tunes as *Money Musk*, *Irish Washerwoman* and *Turkey in the Straw* for the square dancing. And Mrs. McGinnis would make mincemeat from cottontails and send all the way to Cheyenne for delicacies for the big midnight feast. She was an excellent cook and huge cakes and pies and great boiled hams, and Ellis candies were none too good for cowboys weary of beef and beans, boys who had ridden 75 or 100 miles horseback to the dance.

In that same big room, in a log-cabin wedding, the post chaplain from Fort Laramie married Lizzie McGinnis to Tom Snow, foreman of the Pratt and Ferris Cattle Company. They established a ranch on the Rawhide and later, a winter home in Torrington, so their son and daughter could go to school.

When their son died in World War I, and Torrington's Travis Snow Post of the American Legion was named for him, the Snows took to spending their winters in California. A decade later, Mrs. Snow went to France to visit the boy's grave.

Now that Tom Snow is gone, too, Mrs. Snow comes back alone in the summer to inspect and enlarge the ranch on the Rawhide. These days she talks more than ever of those other days when life in Wyoming was exciting and glamorous for little Lizzie McGinnis.

Logan enjoyed his work around Rawhide and Fort Laramie and riding many miles to a dance was a bit of a lark. But he realized that carrying the mail and short-haul passenger runs had no future. He had substituted as a driver on a big coach. Suddenly he realized that he wanted to get back to the range - to working cattle.

In the fall of 1882 he caught a glimpse in the distance of a roundup wagon on the move, and rode out that night for supper around the open fire. He knew some of the riders and they introduced him around. The cook was extra nice to him. A feeling of homesickness for the roundup came over him, and he felt hemmed in by his daily routine. He missed the frosty mornings with your horse bucking the minute you stepped into the saddle. He recalled circling the herd in the starlight - a stampede in the night, when he had almost no sleep. He had been



annoyed at the time, but now he looked back on it as alive and exciting.

One day he met George Cross, a rider he had worked with in 1881 on the Number One Roundup, when there'd been 125 men starting at Durbin's Crossing on Pole Creek the first day of May. Cross was three years older than Logan but they had hit it off from the first. Meeting him again now at Fort Laramie, then watching him ride away, free in the saddle, stirred in Logan a longing to ride again for a good cow outfit.

Besides, he'd had a letter from his mother. After his father drowned, she had kept her grief to herself more than was good for her, and lately she had been writing that she never saw Ernest anymore. He was so far away, and his letters didn't tell her much. Her plaintive appeal stirred him to make a decision.

The thermometer at Laramie had gone down to 31 below, Jan. 20, 1883, and he wondered how his mother was managing alone. Spring would be coming. Roundups would be starting at every roundup district in the territory, and Logan wanted intensely to be on one—the horse roundup about the first of May, and calf roundup and branding right after that. If he quit the next month, he could go to Cheyenne, visit his mother, and work on some spurs for which he had drawn a wild-rose design. He could then look for a riding job in May, somewhere new. He would miss his friends at Fort Laramie and around, but surely their trails would cross again, sometime, somewhere.

In March when the boss rode in, Logan discussed his plans. Voorhees understood how he felt. He already knew how Mrs. Logan felt, because she had written him, asking about Ernest. Voorhees said it would be fine for the young man to quit. Voorhees confessed that he would like to get his money out of the stage line and start cattle ranching up in that part of the country. Logan and the older man were in agreement on many issues. In a couple of weeks, a young fellow took over the reins on Logan's run, and Logan rode south.

From a high spot on the road Logan looked down on Cheyenne and it looked very good. His mother was so happy to have him home that for a day or two she didn't want to let him out of her sight. He felt guilty about being away so much. Maybe in another two or three years he would make bits and spurs as a business, but not yet. For the time being, he went to work on the spurs in his father's workshop, blowing the dust off his father's familiar tools, the mallets, stamping tools and the vise.

He began to look around for a riding job. His mother realized that he was restless when she'd had her visit, and she was satisfied to give him up again for a while. If he would be a cowhand, she could at least have him home winters.

In April, he had a chance to ride for a Scot named John Clay on the 71 Quarter Circle on the Sweetwater. He could work on into the fall and be back in Cheyenne for the winter. His mother had heard of Clay and his Scottish connections, and felt he would be a good influence. A good influence - Logan had to laugh - Mothers! He was 25 years old, and he knew he was his own man.

The end of April, 1883, he took the Union Pacific to Rawlins, his saddle and bedroll in the baggage car. One of the 71 Quarter Circle hands met the train, and they set out on the long ride north and west. The horse herd was kept at a point farther north, near Moneta. Logan learned he was to work up there with a fellow about his own age, John Carmody. In a short time, Logan and Carmody formed a friendship that was to last for years . . .

* * * * *

Logan had heard of this country and how it fared in the big storm of 1872. Some 50 years later in Cheyenne, he met an elderly lady, Mrs. Alverna Markle Dean, who as a young girl had come to Wyoming from Pennsylvania. They settled at Point of Rocks, southwest of Clay's headquarters, when Wyoming was virgin territory.

It was at Point of Rocks that Mrs. Dean saw one of Wyoming's miracles of nature. A storm came up early in the afternoon late in November, 1872. Shortly after it descended, there started a general exodus of wild animals, apparently sensing that the storm would be severe.

Little Alverna stood outside their home with her father and young brother and watched hundreds of deer, antelope and elk trekking southward. The area between Point of Rocks and the adjacent hills was a mass of moving animals as the exodus continued until dusk. Following them were wolves and coyotes. There were no buffalo, most of which were gone from the hills by that time, and the bears had already gone into hibernation.

"Remember this day, children," Mrs. Dean's father said. "You will never see its like again."

Later she heard of the trek continuing into Colorado, crossing the South Platte near Evans, and reaching Texas, where the herd was greatly depleted by hunters and predatory animals. The snow that fell remained on the

ground for 90 days, making grazing virtually impossible. There were few cattle outfits in the country yet, or the stock losses would have been enormous.

* * * * *

Riding for Clay up on the Sweetwater in 1883 and 1884, Logan made other new friends, some of whom kept in touch with him most of his life. There was Ed Harris, whose daughter, Mrs. John Kirk, in 1937 came to Cheyenne from Split Rock for Logan's 80th birthday. And Billy Johnson, who in the 1930s was appointed United States Land Commissioner at Cheyenne. The two old cowboys talked over the days when they rode for the 71 Quarter Circle brand.

At one time, rioting Texas cowboys struck for higher wages and talked of tar and feathering Clay when he refused their demands, they rode away just as the beef herd had been gathered to drive to the railroad for shipping. Logan was up at the horse corrals. A small nucleus of faithful hands were led by Clay himself, who wrote that they turned the beeves out to water and graze, corralled them overnight, and the next day the hay crew came in, drove the beeves to the railroad. It was the first and last time Clay had any trouble with cowpunchers.

Logan knew how to move cattle slow and easy and not get them stirred up. Sometimes on roundup he had to run them a little to flush them out of a thicket or a draw, but after he got a bunch gathered, he never hurried them. It ran off all the tallow—all the profit. Sometimes young Logan lost his temper because some cowhand he was paired with kept a herd on the run, and wouldn't listen.

I told the boss that if he wanted his beef run like that, he'd have to get someone else to work with that smart-alec, because I wasn't gonna be a part of it. So the boss cussed out the other hand and stopped that, and then he listened. You got to handle cattle like a basket of eggs.

When he was over 80, Logan wrote down in pencil two or three incidents from the summer of 1884, about the Indians' and cowboys' rivalry on the Wind River before the spring roundup:

I worked for some of the prominent ranchers in Wyoming when I was a young fellow in the '80s. Some of the owners are famous, like John Clay. The big spring roundup in 1884 was scheduled to start May 4th. The roundup wagons, with 35 or 40 men, were camped at the forks of Big and Little Wind River at the foot of Beaver Hill, about 25 miles from Lander, waiting for the weather to clear and the snow to melt off.

Just above us was Black Kettle's band of Shoshone Indians, also waiting for the snow to clear off, with all their ponies, etc. There was about a foot of snow on the ground that day, but there were five or six wagons already in camp and several more arrived that afternoon.

After they came, the Indians came over to our camp to do some trading. One of them was lame, a small Indian, very quick and bright, named Lame Antelope, who had sometimes acted as a guide and scout for the United States Army. He asked if we wanted to race some of our horses against their ponies, and we all agreed. We held two races and our outfit won both.

The Indians weren't satisfied, so once more Lame Antelope acted as go-between and suggested that if we had a foot racer, they would like to take him on with one of their braves. So the boss told him yes, we had, and pointed out Johnnie (Shorty) McCarty, a little fellow. The Indian looked him all over and hurried back to camp, to bring on his man, along with about 100 Indians of their tribe.

Johnnie's head came about to the Indian's shoulder. The Indian was tall and lank, and looked as if he could fly. He looked like a race horse, and Johnnie like a little pot-bellied pony.

Well, the Indians put up everything they had, and we put up all the money we had, which wasn't very much. The Indians piled all their bets—furs, gloves, moccasins, etc.—on one side of the road, and we put all our money on a flat rock on our side. An Indian and one of our side measured off a hundred yards on the road, and their racer stripped down to his breech-cloth and moccasins, and Johnnie took off his coat and vest.

They got off to a good start. But I wish you could have seen the faces of the Indians when our little bench-legged Irish leister run right away from their long-legged racer. Also I wish you could have seen Lame Antelope's description of the race to an Indian who was too late to see the race. He pointed, "Him Indian—him Johnnie." Then he showed how they ran, and the rest was "sign talk," and good plain talk it was, with his feet traveling up and down in place. I still have a beaded Indian purse I won on that race.

This was in May, 1884, and so far as I know, I am the only one of the camp still alive today. — E. A. Logan, Cheyenne, Wyo., Aug. 21st, 1940.

Logan's memoirs furnish other Indian tales at that locale.

One day a blind old Indian and his grandson, about seven, drifted into camp. Lame Antelope interpreted how the old man and the boy had traveled from Pine Ridge in the sand hills of Nebraska, to the camp in the middle of Wyoming. He said the Indian, then about 90 years old, had known the country before he became blind; so when they started out on their journey, they got up at sunrise and the old man asked his grandson to ride with him to the highest point in the vicinity. The boy would describe the most prominent point ahead of them, and also the country back of them. The grandfather would then tell the boy whether to go to the right or the left, and about how far. In this way, they traveled all the way to Lander.

The horses were wintered at the 71 Quarter Circle horse ranch, farther north, and the wranglers generally stayed there for a few days to gather the horses for the roundup. While they were there, in the spring of 1884, another old Indian with a grandson in tow stopped at the ranch. The hands had just finished supper, but the cook warmed up the leftovers and invited the travelers to help themselves. They were very hungry and ate a tremendous meal.

All at once the little fellow began to cry. When the cook asked what the trouble was, the old man grinned a toothless grin and made motions to the effect that the boy had eaten all he could, but felt bad because there was food left that he couldn't hold.

The roundup of 1884, one of the largest in the state, was made up of 31 separate roundups. Logan rode in No.

Louise Van Tassel, daughter of cattle baron Alexander Swan and wife of cattleman R. S. Van Tassel, was a regular customer at the Walker sisters' establishment. Her name appears in the "size book," now in the personal collection of the author.



AMH DEPARTMENT

21 roundup. The following is copied from the notice sent out by the Wyoming Stock Growers Association to all its members:

1884 Round-Ups

of the

Wyoming Stock Growers Association

William (Billy) C. Irvine, President

Round-up No. 21

Commence May 5 at the mouth of Muskrat on the easterly side of Wind River; thence up Wind River to the mouth of Beaver; thence to Alkali Springs, then cross over to the head of Muskrat; then down Muskrat to its mouth; thence up Poison, working its tributaries as each is reached, to the head of Poison over to the head, and to the mouth of Bad Water.

Fall round-up to begin Sept. 15th. T. J. Turner, foreman; John Gatlin, assistant foreman.

When shipping was over, Logan returned to Cheyenne for the winter. In 1884, John Clay had bought the ranch holdings of E. W. Whitcomb and Hi Kelly, about 50 miles north of Cheyenne, thus acquiring headquarters for the extensive Swan Land and Cattle Company, the famous Two Bar

Ernest Logan didn't know it yet, but far off in New York City, something was brewing in 1885 that was to bring a well-defined change of direction in his life. Little "North-of-Ireland" Jennie Walker, a handsome reddish blonde of thirty-some, with imperious ways and a year's business education in Dunganon, Ireland, had been brought up in the British tradition that the oldest was the boss of the family. Her brother Will was older, but Will was not on the scene. This tradition she did not hesitate to exercise as her holy right. Miss Jennie had heard that Cheyenne was rich and progressive, calling itself the "Magic City of the Plains." Its streets were lined with the beautiful homes of moneyed cattlemen, some with British titles or Scottish financial backing. These men had

built the Cheyenne Club, known the world over, where members entertained their ladies at lavish dinners and balls. Cheyenne also had professional men and political appointees from the East.

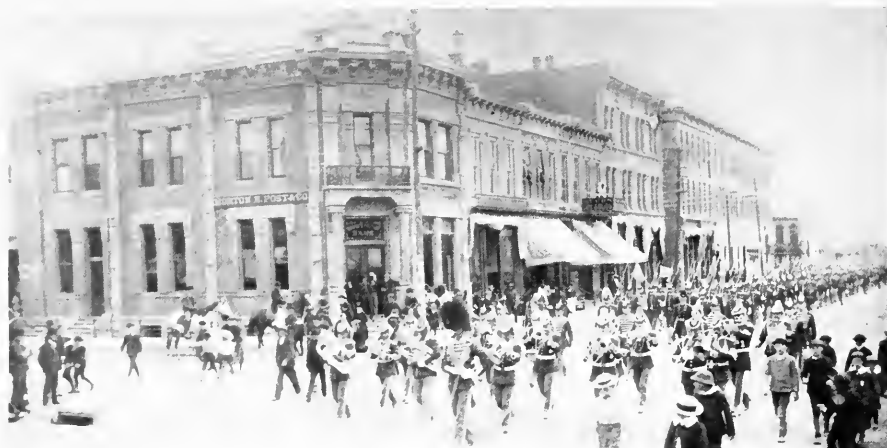
Jennie Walker was not interested in the cattlemen. Well trained in millinery, and with a working knowledge of dressmaking, acquired from her skilled middle sister Lizzie, she had the inspired idea that if she went west, wives of those well-to-do men would need someone to make stylish hats, on which they could spend their husbands' money. In business in New York City and in summer at Saratoga Springs, Jennie Walker was never short on self-confidence and business acumen.

It was before the era of ladies' ready-to-wear. Women had a seamstress in to sew for a week, what they couldn't sew themselves. If they had the means, they had a fashionable dressmaker tailor beautifully fitted gowns. It was this business Jennie sought. She wanted to bring her dark-haired sister Lizzie out from New York to set up a fashion establishment like no other in Wyoming. She wanted a third sister, Minnie, to come west and teach school.

Logan did not fall in love with Miss Jennie. He did, in fact, have a running battle of words and wits with Miss Jennie for some 40 years. By that time, he decided—in Indian words—to "let the war-trails grass over." Maybe he at last realized how greatly indebted he was to Jennie for persuading Lizzie to forsake "Sodom", as Jennie called New York, and join her in Cheyenne.

The letters covering her journey on "the cars" to Cheyenne and her experiences are full of enthusiasm, unlimited self-confidence, and plain nerve. The first correspondence was addressed to Lizzie and Minnie at Saratoga Springs, New York, and the balance, to their flat in New York City. Brother Will, oldest of them all, lived in New York. Younger brothers had stayed in County Armagh, Ireland. Jennie's story of her journey west began with a bounce:

Sept. 12, 1885. Well, girls, I have had a wonderful exper-



E. A. Logan's first store was located at the site of the defunct M. E. Post bank.

ience. There are not many passengers on our car. I did not take a sleeper. Too expensive. *Do not tell anyone I did not take a sleeper*. About 9:00 o/c I lay down on the seat to sleep, and woke up at 1:00 o/c A.M., and realized that we weren't moving. I asked the lady next to me, and she smiled and said, "Is that all you know? We have been wrecked. The sleepers at the end of the train have split a rail and run off the track." I was glad I wasn't on a sleeper. Well, we were kept there five hours in Ohio, 275 miles from Chicago.

At the Chicago depot in the morning, I could make no connection soon, so where should I stay? I was afraid to go to a hotel without a recommendation. I walked around the streets and looked, and I thought of a buyer I had heard of in New York, A. A. Christie, and thought I knew his wife. I remembered his business address. I thought, *Well I will try*.

I went to that address and saw a gentleman whom I asked if there was a buyer named Christie, and he said yes, and pointed out a gentleman. I went up to him and asked, "Are you an American?"

He said, "No."

"Do you come from Ireland?"

"Yes."

"Do you know the Doak family, and did you marry Sarah?"

"Yes!" He said afterward that he kept thinking, "Who the deuce are you?" Finally I asked if he knew Shephard Walker, and he said, "Yes!"

So I said, "I am his sister." So he shook my hand heartily and was very glad to see me. I said, "Sister Lizzie was in Ireland two years ago, and she and Sarah's sister Lizzie Doak had their picture taken together on High Street in Belfast. Such beautiful dresses . . ."

"I have one of those pictures!"

I then asked if he could recommend a good hotel, and he said, "Yes, *our* hotel," meaning his house. So he gave me directions to find the house, an hour's ride on the street car. I then went back to the depot and had some trouble getting my ticket extended to Monday. I didn't care to travel on Sunday. I had half the agents and conductors in Chicago exerting themselves in my behalf. Reached Sarah's about seven P.M. A nice married gentleman about 60 escorted me to Lakewood, carrying my baggage, and Sarah made him stay for dinner. Her husband had telephoned, and she was overjoyed to see me. She talked about the baby she had just lost, and asked about all the people in County Armagh in

good old Ireland. There were three nice men turned up, one a Mr. Henderson, Alex Christie is coming out to Denver to go in business with me. Don't laugh. Mr. Henderson is coming, too. Lots of beaux. I went to church with handsome Mr. Henderson and made quite a mash.

Sept. 16, 1885. We are still in Ill. And I now behold the grandest red sunset I ever saw, reflected in the Mississippi River. At Rock Island a gentleman came in who knows all about the West. He was kind, and one you could trust, was interesting and talked continually all evening and next morning. All the way through, I have had just the same good luck.

7 A.M. Wed. We are about 20 miles from Denver on the U.P., passing vast plains of buffalo grass, all public land, I think. Now we can see the Rocky Mtns. They look very formidable, dark and capped with snow . . . Later. Well, I reached Denver this morning. The gentleman carried my baggage. I am staying with a Mrs. Jackson I thought I knew. I didn't, but never mind, she invited me to stay, and I am eating out. I think I will stay until Friday and rest up.

They all speak highly of Cheyenne. Some people named Beaton invited me to spend the evening. I never saw anything like how things turn up. It is wonderful how hospitable the Denverites are, and will do anything for you. A beautiful city, the air bracing. I walked all forenoon without feeling tired. Trees all the way on the streets, and streams of water running through the gutters.

Saturday. Well, here I am at the T. J. Fisher Hotel, Cheyenne, telling everyone I am an accomplished costume designer. So don't tell anyone I am an amateur. I wish I had learned the chart system you use, Lizzie, to cut patterns. Here are the measurements of a lady customer. Please cut a pattern for her. It will save me so much trouble. Bust 32, waist 24, across the shoulders 15½, hip 38 (over bustle), arm 21½, elbow to under-arm 8½, hand 8; length bodice, front 12, back 15½. I am going to cut a handsome pink and blue morning dress with wateau back and loose pleats to the ground. Tell Min to send me some needles. Here are the sizes . . .

Dec. 2, 1885. Weather like June. My sealskin sacque I have worn only about half a dozen days, my muff yesterday for the first time. I have joined the M. E. Church Lyceum. We have meetings and debates. And Rev. Rayder invited some young ladies, myself included, for supper Monday evening after Thanksgiving. There are no Irish in the Methodist church, but several English, and they have

included me, and say I speak like a Londoner.

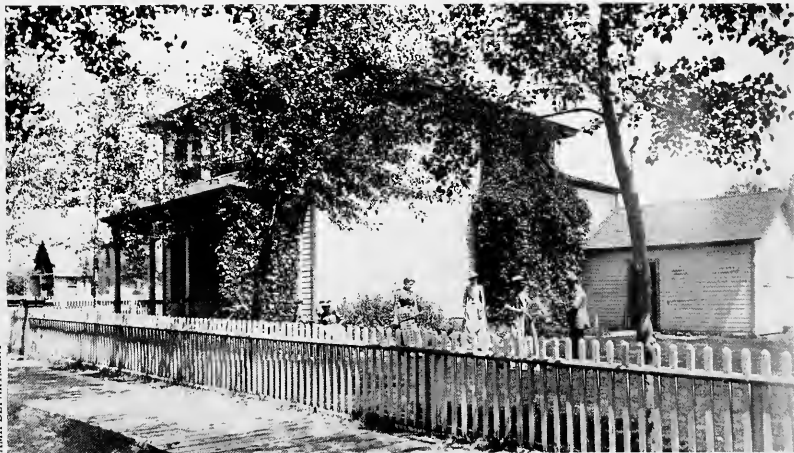
Tom Guston wants me to go into partnership with him on a ranch. Almost every morning at 6 o/c, some of us go horseback riding over the prairie. It is exhilarating. When you come, we can buy a horse and divide the cost of its board among us. Lizzie your patterns are so perfect, I am getting a reputation as a good fit . . . If the boys could come from Ireland, I would take up a ranch or homestead and in a few years the money would double itself, and you and Minnie and I could carry on the dressmaking, and Shephard and James could live on the ranch. You buy young calves, say for \$15. The next year, they would be worth \$30, and the next \$60, and so on. This is the way it is done, and women, too take up the land. Lots of ways of making money here, all better than the chances in New York. I never want to go back to Sodom again.

I make gowns for some of the wealthiest here, and I pray for the good Lord to make them fit. [Years later, when Ernest read that, he said, "I wonder how the Old Gentleman liked *that* assignment?"]

Dec. 14, 1885. I wish I could be there for Christmas. I guess I am homesick. Minnie's picture is before me in a frame, and as I look up, she seems to say, "I am ready." You know how she steps into a room. Well, she seems like stepping toward me, tall and straight and blond. On no account forget to have father's picture made from that photograph taken in Belfast. It seems a pity for you to spend your time there when there is so much work here. Is it impossible to come now? Minnie, where are those needles? You sent me some, but they are so fine, I cannot use them. *It is urgent.* Lizzie, here are some more measurements to make two more patterns. Waist 28 . . . My letters must be more trouble than otherwise.

March 25, 1886. Today they vote on \$400,000 bonds for a north-south railroad through Cheyenne. If it goes through, Cheyenne will boom. There is no place we could do as well. Our success is assured. *Later.* The bonds have carried by an overwhelming majority, and all the business and ranch men I have asked say it means there will certainly be increasing trade for Cheyenne. I will look for a house for a millinery and dressmaking establishment, where we can have our own business. This is our providential path. Minnie can teach if she takes her exams. I feel the responsibility of bringing you here, and do want you to like it.

18th Street and Central Avenue, Cheyenne, 1889. Standing, left to right, are: Lizzie Walker, Minnie Walker, Jennie Walker and Louis Casper.



March 30, 1886. I was sick with a sore throat, and now have more of that rheumatism like I had in New York, and my hands are so sore, I can hardly sew or write. Dr. Crook gave me a course of medicine and rest. The snow is too deep for me to go to church, but the sun is bright, the snow clean and white—a delightful climate.

[Miss Jennie was so bent on playing up Cheyenne's good points that she never wrote that on March 28, 1886, the temperature fell to 16 degrees below zero.]

April 1. The last measurements were for Miss Whipple, Mrs. Dr. Hun's sister, who is to be married. I have four gowns to make. Lizzie I am obliged for drafting the patterns. I like Cheyenne people better all the time. I am said to be the best fitter in town. I don't tell them that Lizzie draws up the patterns. Min, send me those needles, size 7. *Now tend to this, Minnie. I need those needles.*

April 5, 1886. I can get Minnie a position to teach for May 10, in a school on a ranch; a lovely place in summer, 30 miles northwest from here, where Miss Whipple taught. \$50 per month salary and pay \$15 or \$18 for board, and from there you would have a chance for the city schools. Write and say when you are coming. Is it not possible to come AT ONCE? Min will have to take an examination in arithmetic, sp., geography, reading, writing, etc., so study on the cars; there will be so little time here before the exams. Go to McCreery's and Wanamakers and make arrangements for wholesale prices on goods, braid, jet, linings, findings, etc. And girls, when you step off the cars, be dressed in pretty colors and look as stylish as you can, for the good of the business. And don't bring any ink!

Lizzie knew very well what Jennie meant about the ink. When 13-year-old Lizzie had come by ship from Ireland to New York in 1871, she had some beautiful cashmere for a dress, a rich brownish purple called puce, in her trunk. Also packed was a bottle of ink that she hated to leave behind, which had spilled in transit. When Lizzie had pulled open the parcel, she had cried out in pain, "Oh, my puce cashmere! My handsome puce cashmere!" And she had cried in brother Will's arms.

At Christmas, Will and his wife gave Lizzie a length of plum-colored cashmere, and she had wept again. And then she beamed on them all.

The last of the Jennie Walker letters to New York were dated April, 1886. Early in May, Lizzie and Minnie Walker arrived, dressed in their stylish, appropriate best. Lizzie also proudly wore a going-away gift from a close girl friend, a gold ring set with six stones, ruby, emerald, garnet, amethyst, ruby and diamond, the first letters of each stone spelling REGARD. (It is still in the family.)

At 18th and Central they bought a big house to fix up for living and dressmaking. The Downtown Motor Inn stands there now, but sometimes the sense of the past hovers close.

Business ballooned. They had a fat blank leather-bound book made for measures and orders, with spaces for all the measurements of customers that Jennie had written about to Lizzie: neck, bust, chest, wrist, under-arm, and those big hips over the bustle. Once Miss Louise Smith, of an old Cheyenne family, and retired vice-president of the Stock Growers National Bank (now First National) looked through the names, identifying the customers, from Laramie, Buffalo and Cheyenne. Asked whether her mother and sisters had had dresses made at the Walkers', she said, "Indeed, we did not. We couldn't afford to."

Jennie wrote the patrons' names by their husbands' titles. They included Mrs. Judge Carey and Mrs. Gov. Warren (later U.S. Senator). Some wore their Walker gowns to affairs in Washington, and one was worn in Paris.

Jennie burned the old style books at each season's end, so that no customer would be tempted to want a dress like last year's styles. Those *Elites*, *Bon Tons* and *LaModes* in color would now be almost as valuable as *Godeys*.

Business paper was ordered with a fancy heading: J. & L. Walker, French Millinery and Costumes, 1721 Central Ave., Cheyenne, so different from Lizzie's modest 1884 printed cards: Miss L. Walker, Fashionable Dressmaking, 217 East Forty-fifth Street, New York.

As a free-roving cowboy, Logan wouldn't have given up the saddle for any girl he ever met. He took them on picnics, buggy or horseback rides, to oyster suppers or the theater. He had many good bachelor friends. Percy Hoyt had bought the ranch seven miles west of Cheyenne on Crow Creek where Whitcomb had erected a red brick house (later the Polo Ranch), not far from Camp Carlin.

The first of July, 1889, Hoyt invited Logan to ride out for the 4th. "We can hunt for a wolf that got one of my calves, and is still around." Some little round pictures on cards are evidence that he went. In Hoyt's handwriting is, "Ernest on a wolf hunt, July 4, 1889." and "Ernest on Puss." Logan is in a light brown mustache, a straight-brimmed, four-dent campaign Stetson, wool pants, short gloves, boots almost to his knees, and Logan-made silver-mounted spurs, glinting in the late afternoon sun, his shadow long on the prairie. His saddle was a single-rigger with almost no swells. And Puss's tail was "pulled" in rangeland fashion, half way up her legs, to

keep her from switching Logan.

Now Logan was over 30, and it was said that a cowboy was good for no more than eight or ten years in the saddle. It was so hard on a man. And his mind was turning toward settling down. Friends who had married seemed so pleased with themselves. Later, one of Logan's favorite poets, Charles Badger Clark, put it into words:

Yes, maybe there's something I've missed

And maybe it's more than I've won.

Just a door that's my own, while the cool shadows creep,

And a woman a-singin' my baby to sleep

When I'm tired from the wind and the sun.

Then one day Logan was walking down the street, thinking about whether to take that job, carrying mail in Cheyenne, when he met Lizzie McGinnis from Fort Laramie, where he had driven a stagecoach a few years back. Lizzie had become quite a young lady. Happily they discussed his bit-and-spur business and her Tom Snow, a ranch foreman:

"Mama is at the Walker sisters right now, being fitted. I suppose you know the Walkers?"

"My mother knows them from the Methodist Church, but no, I've never met them."

"Miss Jennie, the oldest, is the boss. Then there's Lizzie, the dark, quiet one, the middle sister, a real artist at designing and fitting dresses. You would like her. I haven't met the youngest sister yet. Mama and I are going there for more fittings tomorrow morning. Why don't you drop in — say around 10:30" She glanced away and back. "I don't think Miss Jennie likes cowboys. She's pretty high-toned."

"The postmaster says I can carry mail here in town. I've got to decide."

Many years later in Torrington, Lizzie McGinnis Snow reported to this writer that she and her mother had finished their fittings and were dressed when the door-pull sounded, and the Black cook answered it. "And there was Ernest Logan, all dressed up and full of bright sayings. Miss Jennie tried to do all the talking, but he ignored her and talked to Lizzie" . . . The very next Sunday he hitched the team to his mother's buggy and took Lizzie for a drive.

From the beginning, Jennie fought it. She didn't want her sister to fall in love just now and break up a profitable business. Logan splurged on Lizzie. Lizzie protested, but she did enjoy it all. He took her to the opera house to hear *Faust* performed by a New York company, to church fairs, and oyster suppers and, of course, on drives.

He termed "A-Number-1" the concerts at Turner Hall by the local German male chorus, the Cheyenne Turnverein, a blend of full, well-trained voices in mostly German classics. Their accompanist, Oscar Braun, had studied piano and organ at Heidelberg University.

Logan's courtship could hardly be described as whirlwind. Jennie saw to that. They would barely be seated on the ruby cut-velvet loveseat in the parlor before Jennie would shut an upstairs door and start down the carpeted stairs. Halfway down, she would peer in the glass transom over the parlor door to see what was up, march in without knocking, and announce that it was time for

Interior of the Logan store, circa 1910.



him to go home. Lizzie was going to have a full day tomorrow and needed her sleep. After about three rounds, and Logan not budging, Jennie would flounce upstairs again, to call down every five minutes, "Lizzie, send that young man home right now!"

One night they slipped quietly out to Ellis' candy store for oyster stew, and when they got home, laughing together, Jennie was highly indignant that all her off-stage scolding had been wasted.

Logan was thankful for warm Sundays when he could take Lizzie away from 1721. Being a Methodist, he knew she never sewed on Sunday. Bringing a little mare for Lizzie, he would lift her in her sweeping navy velvet riding skirt, from the carriage block onto the horse, her knee hooked over the leaping horn, and step nimbly into his own stirrups before Jennie could get out the door. Lizzie thought that if Logan were looking for a horseman, a fearless one, he should have picked Jennie.

"She's just jealous of us going riding," said Logan.

Lizzie liked it better in the buggy, when he handed her up between cramped wheels. He knew a number of quiet and lovely summer spots, like the Hereford ranch grove, seven miles east of town.

In 1889, Logan began carrying mail in Cheyenne, working on his bits and spurs on free days, to be company for his mother on the nearby ranch. He had always liked handling mail at Camp Carlin and Fort Laramie.

The carriers often helped each other out in an emergency, or traded schedules if there was the need. One time when a little boy was not expected to live through a siege of typhoid, Logan quietly delivered the mail to the back door. The child did recover. When Mark Draper had a long illness, the others divided up his route and carried his mail so he wouldn't lose his pay.

It was a happy day when Lizzie finally said "yes", on a lovely summer evening. She braced herself and broke the news to Jennie after breakfast. Jennie exploded. "You mean you would break up our business, when it is making money, to marry a—*a cowboy?*" Lizzie said that he was more than a cowboy, he was a fine man, turned her back and walked out. On the stairs, tall blond Minnie had been listening, hugged her close and giggled.

Lizzie wrote the news to brother Will, at his office in New York. His answer was prompt.

Dear Lizzie:

"Speechless! I am simply speechless! If it had been Jennie, I wouldn't have been surprised. In fact, I thought the letter was from Jennie until I got to the end and saw *Lizzie*. You have spoiled my afternoon. When are you coming to tell us about Ernest? You don't say when you will be married. If I know Jennie, it won't be soon. Money, money, money. You have the warmest blessing of your Brother,

WILL

One twilight in 1890, Ernest took her out in the carriage to a quiet road. Two hours later they came back, a sly secret between them. Her REGARD ring was on her right hand, and in its place was a diamond with four purple amethysts at the corners. Jennie did not notice it until morning. She was wild. Lizzie just kept her secret smile. When the workroom girls came, all 17 seamstresses and milliners gathered around, squealing in excitement until Jennie marched in, glaring them into silence. It was three long years before Lizzie got her wedding band.

Lizzie and Ernest frequently discussed what line of work he should go into. Still strong in her memory was her own father, bearded Thomas Walker in County Armagh, more English than Irish, a Quaker, who had been a merchant in Richill. Her mother, Elizabeth Sin-



16th Street, Cheyenne, 1886 or 1887.

AMH DEPARTMENT

ton Walker, had died there when Lizzie was six, her death blamed on the potato famine, and her father had failed in business from hard times. He later sailed to Australia to start over, writing for his children to come and help him open a shop. Instead, they had gone, one at a time, to New York, and he had died alone in Melbourne.

A merchant. Lizzie began to think of a store for Logan. Why not? His father had. Logan squinted, listening. "But where would I get the money? What I have saved wouldn't be half enough."

"You could save, and I could save. Start small and work it up. You've a quick head for figures. You sell your bits and spurs."

"But what kind of a store? Papa's was a hardware and tin shop, but there are plenty of those, and two saddle shops."

In the post office on 16th Street one day, he remembered that there had once been a bookstore in the post office lobby. Why, sure! Books and writing paper, and maybe candy. He had learned to make candy in a bakery as a youth.

And so in 1892, at 216 West 16th Street, near the Inter Ocean Hotel, famous in the West, he opened his store. It was to move six or seven times in 40 years, sometimes pushed out for a theater or larger store that needed the space, but it was in operation for all 40 years, later on handling rare books and curios. Logan's Book and Curio Store is most remembered at the 17th and Carey Avenue location. Once it was located where the Atlas Theater was built on 16th Street. In 1977, the Cheyenne Little Theatre Melodrama—an annual summertime affair—displayed an

ad of Logan's store on its stage curtain.

The big house at 1721 Central buzzed constantly with romance. One or the other of the seamstresses or milliners was always in love, or getting married, in a country short of women. And the Walker sisters, all three, had their young men, held firmly under control by Jennie, who had a fine-looking, blue-eyed man of her own—Harry Crain from Vermont, who called her Pet, and was willing to let Jennie be the boss. After all, Jennie was older than he was. And Minnie, the school teacher, surprised them all by becoming engaged to Louis Casper, a Western Union employee and avid worker for the Republican Party, who marched in night parades with dramatic flambeaux during the campaign. Later he developed skill as a telegraph inventor.

Jennie was a shrewd business woman. All else must wait in the wings while business was center stage, herself the star. She was smart enough to see that Lizzie was determined to get married. In 1892, she decided that Lizzie should have a house, but not just any house—one with a side to live in and the other to help pay for it. Lizzie bought a 66x132 foot lot on 26th Street, two blocks from the Capitol, and Jennie pushed until a two-story duplex was started.

Lizzie refused to let Jennie draw the plans. If Lizzie could chart a dress pattern, she could plan a house, foot by foot, tape measure in hand, and in her three dimensional mind, visualize how a room would look. She could use every inch of space better than Jennie ever could. Jennie could just stick to her hats. The house was assigned street numbers, 414 and 416 West 26th Street.

In New York, the Walker sisters had often taken holiday trips. Now they managed to take little trips, to board at a ranch or a hotel for a few days. The summer of 1892, when Lizzie was boarding at Mrs. Gooding's ranch on the Colorado border, and hunting arrowheads, Jennie took over the supervision of her house under construction, writing letters that sounded like the same Jennie who had written Lizzie and Minnie their instructions to New York in 1885.

J & L Walker
French Millinery & Costumes
1721 Central Ave.
Cheyenne, Wyo.
August 16, 1892

Dear Lizzie,

I paid Mr. Wilson another V, but before doing so I had him give me a bond. He had no bills, as before. We had a few words, but I said, Mr. Wilson, I am not going to quarrel with you, I simply want what is right, and I must have it, so the sooner, the better.

And then he cooled down and ended up by taking me for a drive. He commences plumbing tomorrow morning. I am not going to have the downstairs bathroom and bay window, but everything else. I really thought you couldn't spare the money. Stained glass for the front door is here. Don't hurry home.

Your Sister, Jennie

But Lizzie did get her bay window to let in the strong sunshine in the winter and hold her little marble-top gilt plant stand for a fern. The contract was for \$2800 for the two sides, each six rooms and bath, with tin tub and toilet, its own high tank and chain to pull. There was no brown marble basin like the one in the front upstairs bedroom at 1721. It had a stone foundation and cellar, and attic with access up a ladder, through a trap door and a big hall closet. Lizzie and Ernest had a new house nearly ready to move into.

The seamstresses in the big sewing room, each with her own drawer in a long table, watched it all. There were frequent weddings. One girl came back from her honeymoon, blushing and laughing, and when they asked her what it was like, she stood behind the door and peeked out, "It was naughty—but nice."

One little girl of 16, a beginner, fresh out of Ireland, was so good at her work, and so accommodating, she was trusted with the key to the ware room, where yards of tulle and merino and silesia and broadcloth were stored, together with white box upon box of jet, French metal buttons, silver thimbles and silk buttonhole twist, stacked on shelves, nearly to the high ceiling. She later married Pete Waurilamont.

* * * * *

And still Jennie refused to let Lizzie and Ernest get married. Ernest was furious. They were not going to let

Jennie run their lives any longer and he set a deadline.

In later years, Lizzie told her daughters how she had written Jennie, in New York on business, that she was to come back for Lizzie's wedding on March 22nd, and stay for her own on the 29th. Miraculously, it happened just that way, with Lizzie coming down the walnut stairs at 1721 on March 22, 1893, to be married in the parlor by the Methodist minister from across the street. The Black cook proudly served chicken salad, buttery twisted rolls and wedding cake. It was a blizzardy March day, but nothing could dampen Logan's spirits. He had his bride. As Lizzie McGinnis said about the day Logan met Lizzie, he was "full of bright sayings."

Lizzie was such a proper young lady, she was embarrassed the rest of her life because Mabel was born two days before the nine months were up. As a matter of fact, there was further delay. Ernest had made reservations at the Brown Palace Hotel in Denver for the 22nd, but the storm had a mind of its own. The train was snowed in, somewhere between Cheyenne and Greeley, so that they had to spend their wedding night, snowed in on the train. Ernest wondered aloud whether Jennie had influenced even the weatherman.

Jennie and Harry Crain were married on the 29th. Even Minnie was married a month later.



Logan store, 17th and Carey, circa 1910. Logan (left) is shown posing with his daughter Mabel and an unidentified man.



Sen. Francis E. Warren

A Taft Republican:

Sen. Francis E. Warren and National Politics

By Leonard Schlup

"Warren counted as his friend every American President in the period between Grover Cleveland and Herbert Hoover."



Pres. William Howard Taft

Ignored by historians and frequently forgotten by the people of his adopted state, Francis Emroy Warren, United States Senator from 1895 to 1929, was a prominent public figure in late 19th and early 20th century Wyoming history. Along with Clarence Don Clark and Franklin Wheeler Mondell, he belonged to the famous triumvirate that dominated politics in Wyoming for nearly three decades. In addition to heading a political machine, Warren gained attention as an influential businessman whose shrewd dealings in real estate, livestock, lighting and mercantile enterprises made him a millionaire.

Born at Hinsdale, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, on June 20, 1844, the year of James K. Polk's election as President of the United States, he attended the common schools and Hinsdale Academy. Enlisting in the Forty-ninth Regiment of the Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, Warren, a private during the Civil War, received the Congressional Medal of Honor for gallantry on the battlefield at the siege of Port Hudson. A captain in the Massachusetts militia and a farmer following the conclusion of the conflict, he relocated in Wyoming, a part of the Territory of Dakota, in 1868, to begin a business career.

Warren's early success in financial affairs prompted friends to persuade him to enter politics. His first opportunity came as a member of the Territorial Senate in 1873-1874. He was president of that body, and member of the Cheyenne City Council. Warren's career accelerated rapidly after these experiences. He served as Treasurer of Wyoming in 1876, 1879, 1882, and 1884, and held a seat in the Territorial Senate in 1884, but he relinquished this position to become mayor of Cheyenne in 1885. Although selected as governor of the Territory of Wyoming by President Chester A. Arthur in February, 1885, he lost this appointment in November of the following year when Grover Cleveland, the Democratic Chief Executive, removed him from power. After President Benjamin Harrison, an Indiana Republican, moved into the White House in March, 1889, he reappointed Warren as territorial governor, a role he assumed until elected as the first governor of the State of Wyoming in 1890.

Warren resigned his gubernatorial office at the end of two months to accept election by state legislators as one of the two new United States senators. Although a deadlock in the Wyoming legislature in 1893 temporarily returned him to private life and agricultural pursuits, Warren again succeeded in obtaining the coveted Senate prize in 1894, remaining in that station until his death from bronchial pneumonia at his home in Washington, D.C., on November 24, 1929, one month after the stock market crash. Following funeral services in the Senate chamber, the body of the 85-year-old legislator was taken to Cheyenne for interment in Lakeview Cemetery.¹

When death finally claimed Warren at the beginning of the Great Depression, it removed from Congress an able spokesman for Wyoming as well as a historical figure. Easily distinguished by colleagues for his white hair and mustache, he won their respect for his forthright stand on controversial issues, including support of irrigation, reclamation of western lands, woman's suffrage and opposition to the prohibition amendment. An important chairman of the Appropriations Committee, among others, Warren utilized his length of service to provide representation not usually afforded people in sparsely populated states. In short, he strengthened the voice of Wyoming as a senior Congressional leader during a generation dominated, for the most part, by the Republican party.

Although political and economic concerns highlighted his career, Warren engaged in a variety of activities that enlarged his regional and national reputation. These included the building of Cheyenne's Opera House in 1882 and serving as President of the National Wool Growers Association from 1901 to 1907. Moreover, he was the Wyoming manager of the American Cattle Trust, organized in 1887, with headquarters in New York City.

Warren counted as his friend every American President in the period between Grover Cleveland and Herbert Hoover. He especially maintained close personal and political associations with William Howard Taft, President of the United States from 1909 to 1913. These two Republican leaders shared several ideas and traits in common. Both had a profound understanding of public affairs and possessed an extraordinary combination of talents and each set high standards of conduct and acquired reputations for honesty and integrity. Both politicians were more Hamiltonian in their interpretation of the Constitution than generally perceived by contemporaries and historians. They wanted to constitutionalize presidential prerogative rather than adopt the stewardship theory of executive power favored by Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. Unlike Taft, however, Warren was a more astute leader of public opinion and followed an elective, instead of appointive, road to political prominence, thereby developing and refining campaign skills in the process.

The relationship between Warren and Taft, a friendship overlooked by presidential scholars, offers historians an opportunity to explore two fascinating personalities. An examination of their correspondence particularly reveals characteristics of Taft and Warren as men and politicians. The following five letters, which Warren wrote to Taft, show these qualities and provide an analysis of issues, elections, and contemporaries. They are, of course, only one part of a larger story.

In 1908, Warren endorsed Taft for the presidency and sent a letter outlining his views on the national conventions and the possible outcome of the electoral contest.

United States Senate
Committee on Military Affairs
F. E. Warren, Chairman

(Personal.)

Cheyenne, Wyo., 7/11/08

Hon. William H. Taft,
Virginia Hot Springs,
Virginia

My dear Judge:²

I have just returned from Denver where I spent four days with the Democratic convention; also one day before and one after. From my viewpoint I believe we could hardly have fixed things better if allowed to direct the whole matter—i.e., fixed things better for the Republicans. It was not exactly a case of "All were for Bryan³ but nobody wanted him," but it was nearer that than anything I have ever known. During the entire week, among the many Democrats with whom I conversed, I did not find any conservative, strong business or professional men who wanted Bryan or who were willing to stake their reputations upon the assertion that Bryan could be elected. Colorado, particularly the City of Denver, was once a Bryan hot-bed. Colorado was one of the most extreme Bryan states when the free silver fad was at its zenith, and a few are now predicting that Colorado may be carried for the Democratic state ticket and possibly for Bryan if they can get up a state ticket and platform that will placate the business interests; that Nebraska may be carried for Bryan on account of state pride; and quite a few think that Nevada may go to Bryan; but I heard no one venture the opinion that any of the other western or mountain states could be carried for Bryan.

With proper attention in Nevada—and of course the same in Colorado and Nebraska—I believe we can clean up everything west of the Mississippi, down to the solid south. And it may be reasonably expected that we will make a pretty thorough clean-up east of the Mississippi.⁴

I think you have made the proper choice in Hitchcock⁵ for chairman of the National Committee. I feel very confident that he will "make good" all the way through.⁶

Hastily and faithfully yours,
F. E. Warren

Shortly after Taft's triumphant victory over the beleaguered William Jennings Bryan, Warren suggested that the President-elect consider retaining a Cabinet officer who had been well-respected in Wyoming.

United States Senate
Committee on Military Affairs
F. E. Warren, Chairman

(Personal)

Washington, D.C., 1/13/09

Honorable William H. Taft
Augusta, Georgia

My dear Judge:

Acknowledging heartily the principle that the selection of a President's Cabinet should be like a man's choice of a wife—entirely his own, without the influence or advice of anyone—yet after serving on the Agricultural Committee of the Senate longer than on any other committee during my entire service in this body, and being a farmer and a Western farmer at that, I must acknowledge the truth and



President Taft visited Cheyenne in 1911. He is in the silk top hat, standing up in the back of the touring car.

say that, should your choice happen to fall upon Secretary Wilson,⁷ the present incumbent, there would be general commendation and a feeling of satisfaction all around in the outer circles.

With kindest personal regards to you and Mrs. Taft, I am⁸

Faithfully yours,
F. E. Warren

The presidential campaign of 1912 was a perplexing period in Warren's career. The division within the Republican party between the followers of President Taft and supporters of former President Theodore Roosevelt resulted in a Democratic victory on the national level for the first time since 1892. As soon as the outcome had been ascertained, Warren sent a message to the defeated Taft.

Francis E. Warren, Chairman
Committee on Appropriations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Personal Cheyenne, Wyo., 11/9/12

Honorable William H. Taft
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am heartbroken over the result!

I have not written nor wired you sooner because of the uncertainty of our results locally and of the quickly-decided certainty on Election night as to the general result—which naturally destroyed interest in the results in minor States.

We were in the field here, and in the thickest of the fight constantly, up to the closing of the polls, hoping and believing that we could give you the State. But as a certainty of Wilson's⁹ election was so early apparent after the polls closed, interest switched from the head of the ticket to the legislative ticket, on account of the bitterness of the fight against me; and as many of our voting places are remote from the railroad and even from telephone communication, it has taken a long time to determine what at last seems certain—that Wilson has carried Wyoming with a few hundred plurality.¹⁰

The nastiest, meanest campaign ever waged anywhere was undoubtedly the one here in Wyoming—with certain outside help—against me. With the present prospects of a Democratic President, Senate, and House, I would be much happier in the long run had I gone down in the wreck with the rest. But as one dislikes to be eliminated because of infamous accusations, I feel some satisfaction in knowing that present figures show that in the Wyoming Senate the Republicans have a majority of three; in the House, a majority of two; or a majority of five on joint ballot. This may be increased two or three members on the Republican side, and it is barely possible, although not probable, that we may lose one or possibly two.

With a degree of regret that I cannot express, I am¹¹

Faithfully yours,
F. E. Warren

In 1919, Warren and Taft turned their attention to the Treaty of Versailles with its incorporation of a League of Nations. Taft enthusiastically supported the establish-

ment of a world organization for the preservation of peace and favored the League with certain clarifying reservations designed to protect the interests of the United States. He encouraged Warren to adopt this objective. The Senator responded to Taft's initiative by complaining about obstinate Democratic leadership on the controversial issue and by revealing his views.

Francis E. Warren
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

November 17, 1919

Hon. William H. Taft
New Haven, Conn.

My dear Judge Taft:

I enclose herewith confirmation-copy of my telegram sent to you this morning.

I have already voted against Reservation No. 14, and shall surely vote against Reservation No. 15.

In my opinion the Democratic management of this matter has been execrable, because for weeks and months there could have been, at any time, a few very moderate reservations forced through, since a large number of Republicans were so-called "mild reservationists"—and in saying this I am not including myself in either extreme, although I was not prepared, and am not now, to vote to confirm the Treaty exactly as it was written. It may be that Senator Hitchcock¹² and those associated with him have only been carrying out the President's¹³ wishes—or orders, I should say—*i.e.*, that nothing should go through except the Treaty as written without change in the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t" (I am using Hitchcock's own language).

After the Democratic management had forced the Republicans to stand together and had driven the wrought-iron nail through and clinched it on the other side, by offering all kinds of single, one-at-a-time reservations, with no attempt to agree upon all in compromise, then lesser reservations were offered, but too late.

With all good wishes.¹⁴

Cordially yours,
F. E. Warren

Senator Warren dispatched a congratulatory letter in 1921 to Taft, professor of law at Yale University, upon learning that his friend had been chosen by President Warren G. Harding to serve as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. When Taft accepted this appointment, he earned a unique distinction in American history in that he gained both the presidency and the chief justice-ship. Ironically, Taft, a judicial President, turned out to be a political Chief Justice.

Francis E. Warren
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

July 2, 1921

Honorable William H. Taft
Chief Justice of the United States
New Haven, Conn.

My dear Friend:

I am now satisfied that my advice, as given at the time, was good—although your decision was of course made quite apart from it; that is, that you should refuse appointment as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and secure what your friends prophesied for you—the Presidency of the United States—and a place on the Supreme Bench later. And to the delight of all, and to your own supreme satisfaction, the Chief Justiceship of that great Court has come to you.

Please accept from Mrs. Warren¹⁵ and me, for you and Mrs. Taft profoundest congratulations.

With affectionate regards.¹⁶

Sincerely yours,
F. E. Warren

Several qualities characterize the letters of Warren to Taft. They reveal Warren's support of Taft in 1908 and 1912 and his opposition to William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson, the progressive leaders of the era. Moreover, Warren did not hesitate to disagree with Taft as he did during the Senate debate over the League of Nations. The letters also point out that Senator Warren suggested political appointments for Taft's cabinet and approached him on matters of patronage.

Warren, the last Union survivor of the Civil War in the upper house, served in the Senate longer than any other person in American history up to that time. Known as the "Father of the Senate" and "Dean of the Senate," he had a life span that covered twenty-one presidential administrations.

1. General information pertaining to Warren can be located in standard biographical directories of Congress, dictionaries of prominent American politicians, local histories, and obituaries. See, for example, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 1778; *The New York Times*, November 25, 1929, p. 1; and T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), p. 316. Warren's two political allies also represented Wyoming in Congress. Franklin Wheeler Mondell (1860-1939), who engaged in the development of coal mines and oil property, was a Republican Congressman from 1895 to 1897 and again from 1899 to 1923. Clarence Don Clark (1851-1930), a Republican lawyer from Evanston, Wyoming, served in the House of Representatives from 1890 and 1893 and in the Senate from 1895 to 1917.
2. Prior to his appointment as Governor-General of the Philippine Islands and his Cabinet position as Secretary of War under President Theodore Roosevelt, Taft held several judicial offices, including Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati (1887-1890) and a judge on the United States Federal Circuit Court (1892-1900). He also served as United States Solicitor General from 1890 to 1892.
3. William Jennings Bryan, Democrat from Nebraska, had run unsuccessfully as his party's presidential nominee in 1896 and 1900. In 1908, at the Denver convention, he secured the nomina-

tion for the third time.

4. Taft carried every county in Wyoming in 1908, and the Republicans swept to victory there in other offices. Bryan captured the electoral votes of Colorado, Nebraska, and Nevada, the three western states mentioned by Warren in his letter to Taft. As predicted, Taft won in the northern and eastern regions of the nation while Bryan once again claimed the South.
5. Frank Harris Hitchcock, who managed Taft's 1908 presidential campaign, was Chairman of the Republican National Committee (1908-1909) and served as Postmaster General from 1909 to 1913. President Roosevelt and many progressive Republicans questioned Taft's choice of Hitchcock as party chairman because of his conservative credentials.
6. Francis Emroy Warren to William Howard Taft, July 11, 1908, William Howard Taft Papers, Division of Manuscripts, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
7. James Wilson, an Iowa Republican, served as Secretary of Agriculture (1897-1913) during the presidencies of William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft.
8. Warren to Taft, January 13, 1909, Taft Papers.
9. Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey was the Democratic presidential standard-bearer in 1912.
10. Wilson received Wyoming's three electoral votes in 1912. Taft carried only Utah and Vermont. The political animosity between Warren and Joseph Maull Carey (1845-1924) once again surfaced during the presidential campaign of 1912. Carey, a Republican lawyer involved in cattle and ranching business, had been mayor of Cheyenne (1881-1885), Delegate for the Territory of Wyoming (1885-1890), and United States Senator (1890-1895). He served as Governor of Wyoming from 1911 to 1915 and in 1912 was one of the organizers of the Progressive party, an organization formed by Theodore Roosevelt and his followers after Roosevelt failed to seize the Republican nomination from Taft. Running on this "Bull Moose" platform for President, Roosevelt divided the Republicans nationally, and this split also occurred on the local level, including Wyoming. Although Warren and Carey had frequently feuded over various matters, the conservative-progressive dichotomy in Wyoming between the senator and governor mirrored the national dilemma and further revealed the political differences of these two state leaders.
11. Warren to Taft, November 9, 1912, Taft Papers.
12. Gilbert Monell Hitchcock, a United States Senator from Nebraska from 1911 to 1923, was Democratic minority leader (1919-1920) during the debate over the League of Nations.
13. President Woodrow Wilson adamantly refused to compromise on the issue of the League and committed several errors that in the end cost him the treaty, including his partisan appeal for a Democratic Congress in 1918 and his failure to include any members of the Senate or leading figures of the Republican party on his peace commission to Versailles.
14. Warren to Taft, November 17, 1919, Taft Papers.
15. On January 26, 1871, Warren married Helen Marie Smith, a native of Middlefield, Connecticut, who died in 1902. Nine years after the death of his first wife, Warren married Clara LeBaron Morgan, of Groton, Connecticut, on June 28, 1911. His son-in-law, John Joseph Pershing, commanded the American Expeditionary Forces during World War I. See "The Supreme Court Appointment of Willis Van Devanter," by Daniel A. Nelson, *Annals of Wyoming*, Fall, 1981, for Warren's request for patronage.
16. Warren to Taft, July 2, 1921, Taft Papers.

Bay State Marked an Era

By Vera Saban and Earl L. Hanway

All over western Nebraska, from the forks of the Platte on the east to Scott's Bluff brooding alongside the ruts of the old Oregon Trail on the west, thousands of cattle were on the move in the summer of 1887. The dust clouds of their passing rose in the high clear air of the Panhandle like exclamation points, marking the last big roundup of the open range in Nebraska.

Since early spring the yelling, sweating, dust-caked cowboys of the Bay State Land and Cattle Company—with other outfits, big and small—had been busy with rope, knife and branding iron, gathering and sorting the vast herds into manageable bunches of about 5,000, all bearing the Half Circle Block of the Bay State.

In Nebraska's Cheyenne County the homesteaders had once more bested the cattlemen in a referendum, leaving the big outfits nowhere to turn—except across the line into Wyoming where no hated Herd Law could collapse their dream of empire.

The moving of those herds out of Nebraska into Wyoming marked the passing of an era, the time when the cattle kings ruled. Considering its impact on the history of the West it was a surprisingly brief time, less than two decades. But neither those migrating cowmen from

Nebraska nor their counterparts in Wyoming were ready to concede that a way of life had ended. The Johnson County War of 1892, caused in part by that influx of Nebraska herds, was the dying scream.

The establishment of those cattle kingdoms is credited to John Wesley Iliff who, with the coming of the Union Pacific Railroad, threw his herds into the Cheyenne vicinity in 1868. A year later Edward Creighton was ranging his herds on Pumpkin and Rush Creeks in the Panhandle, and Jim Moore arrived with thousands of Texas cattle. The Coad brothers, Mark and John, shipped in longhorns from Texas and fine bulls from Illinois. Others followed—Kane, Bedington, the Bosler brothers, J. J. McIntosh. North of the Platte, William Paxton located his Keystone Ranch and across the river to the south was the nucleus of the outfit that became the Bay State.

The widely flung ranges of Nebraska and Wyoming became known worldwide as the place to get an amazing return for money invested, with the added advantage of adventure and romance. So they came to the West—men seeking a fortune or merely a change, some from rural districts but more from the cities or abroad. Within a short time all that free range was claimed and stocked.



C. D. KIRKLAND COLLECTION. AMNH DEPARTMENT

For some years their returns were almost fabulous—range was good, water plentiful, calf crops adequate, marketing simple with the Union Pacific and the military posts handy. Of course there were some bad times. The winter of 1871-72 was so severe that cattle losses were extremely high. But the range was soon stocked again.

It was a great time, while the herds of the cattle kings roamed government land—the free range. Perhaps a cattleman would homestead a quarter section on a stream and establish his headquarters there. Often his cowboys would prove up on homesteads for the boss, good sites for second headquarters or a line camp.

From these central points the herds of the cattle baron wandered over thousands of acres of federal land. He would claim certain areas by “possessory rights” and occasionally put up fences although fences were an uncommon sight in those days. A cattleman could control vast areas though he legally owned little land. He had the faith to believe that Cheyenne County, with the little frontier town of Sidney as county seat, would never change.

But changes came. With the discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874 the Camp Clarke Bridge was built over the North Platte. It was one-half mile long, had 60 spans, and was opened for travel—for a toll—in May of 1876. The bridge linked the south part of the Panhandle with the north, and Sidney, 40 miles to the south on the Union Pacific, became one of the wildest towns in the West. Gold seekers, military men, freighters, Indian scouts, and Easterners surged through the streets. Of course, there were the cowboys from the outlying spreads.

The Bay State became perhaps the biggest in the Panhandle and many colorful stories are told about the famous ranch. According to Lewis Phillips of Kimball, Nebraska, who spent many years researching county records, the popular image of the Bay State is untrue. It was not a British financed venture where the ne’er-do-well sons of titled English lords dressed for dinner and “rode to the hounds.” British aristocracy never played the romantic role of cowboy on the Bay State.

The true founding and operating of the Bay State was much more commonplace. Several families of the mid-west organized a cattle company in 1873 and, in 1877, incorporated under the name of Evans-Jackson Livestock Company, capitalized at \$100,000 with the principal office in Council Bluffs, Iowa. In addition to the original ranch on the Lodgepole there was some homesteaded land along Pumpkin Creek.

In 1882, the corporation, now called Evans-Mead, bought out several outfits in the Antelope (now Kimball) area, including the John Sparks holdings in the Lodgepole valley, and the Carrigan and Allen ranch and cattle. Three weeks after the purchase of these ranches John A. McShane, nephew of the Creighton brothers, sold to Evans-Mead, and was hired as superintendent of the entire spread. That fall the Evans-Mead Company had a change of names, becoming the Bay State Livestock Company.

Across the river to the north was another rapidly expanding empire. William Paxton of the Keystone purchased the Bosler herds and other neighboring outfits in 1883, and organized the Ogallala Land and Cattle Company. The appetites of the big outfits were whetted by the proven fact that cost per cow unit decreased with an increase in numbers of cows.

The 37 stockholders of the Bay State Livestock Company were eager to acquire more holdings. Early in 1883 the corporation bought the Bushnel ranch, including cattle, for \$37,000 and, a month later, paid John Creighton \$750,000 for his Circle Arrow cattle and holdings. Seymour Robb and John Snodgrass also sold to the Bay State and took jobs as foremen on the ranch.

In March of 1884, the Bay State, now with \$3,000,000 in capital stock, paid almost a million dollars for “Coad’s Kingdom,” which included all land, livestock and ranch equipment of the Coad brothers, Mark and John. In the early ’70s the Coads had taken over the abandoned Bluffs Pony Express Station as their headquarters ranch. Their herds, the progeny of those first Texas longhorns and the blooded bulls from Illinois, eventually ranged south of the Platte from Scott’s Bluff to Courthouse Rock, between the Wildcat Range and the river.

The acquisition of Coad’s Kingdom with a reputed 22,000 head of cattle “book count,” 180 horses, 1000 acres of deeded land, and more than 200,000 acres of range—possessory rights, some illegally fenced—made the Bay State supreme in the Panhandle.

After the Coad deal the Bay State had virtually exclusive rights to the south side of the North Platte in the Nebraska Panhandle. On that wide-flung empire were all those landmarks noted by weary early-day travelers of the Oregon Trail—Chimney Rock, Castle Rock, Courthouse and Jail Rocks, and Scott’s Bluff, all in the vicinity of the Wildcat Range.

Only the Ogallala Land and Cattle Company to the north of the Platte, with Billy Irvine as manager, could match the Bay State, still with John McShane as manager. In 1885 more small outfits sold to the two big corporations.

Near Antelope the Bay State erected a ranch house, a prefabricated mansion shipped from Massachusetts. Containing 30 rooms, it had a bathroom. It is said that the cowboys reined up their horses on a nearby hill and gazed in amazement at the huge house with an indoor toilet.

The principal market for beef raised in the West during the heyday of the Bay State was the government whose contract buyers bought not only beef issue for the Ogallala and Brule Sioux but also for the military posts—Forts Sidney, Mitchell, Laramie, and Robinson. Government contractors were taking all the ranchers could produce for more than twice the Omaha market price. One saga of the times was the Bay State’s venture in buying cattle in Oregon and trailing them to Fort Robinson. Others did the same.



C. D. KIRKLAND COLLECTION. AMH DEPARTMENT

They had a good thing, those cattle kings, but it couldn't last, and a number of events contributed to their downfall.

There was the Homestead Law with its promise of free land, and in the early '80s a few settlers trickled into the Panhandle. Some soon gave up, perhaps selling their rights to a big cattleman, usually for a dollar an acre. The Bay State added more acres in that way.

There was the widely circulated theory, believed by many though untrue, that "rainfall follows the plow." By the mid-'80s the trickle had become a flood—settlers poured into the semi-arid West and Cheyenne County was not overlooked.

The professional land locators and railroad land agents boosted settlement. With surplus land, ceded to them by the government to encourage the construction of rail lines, the rail companies pushed the settlement of the West. They advertised, not only in the United States, but in Europe, extolling the mildness of the climate, the richness of the soil, the low prices of the land. And the grangers came.

Those homeseekers pushed the frontier westward and the claims with their sod shanties began to encroach on the baronial ranges of the cattle kings. At first the cattlemen were confident that this invasion of their realm couldn't last—plowing up grasslands, using eastern farming methods in that arid land, would be a failure. But the farmers plowed up their quarter sections of land and when one starved out there were a dozen to take his place.

And, in Nebraska, they had the Herd Law. The cattlemen hadn't worried much when the Nebraska legislature passed the law in 1871, making it mandatory to restrain cattle from wandering over the public domain. At their urging a proviso was added in 1877—the Herd Law would be suspended in each newly organized county until it was endorsed by a public referendum. So the early

The round-up view, inspecting a brand.

Below, the Saban and Whaley families are shown in front of the old log ranch house on the Bay State Ranch, Ten Sleep Creek.



IDA JACOBSON COLLECTION

cowmen of Cheyenne County, the voting majority in that sparsely settled region of those days, enjoyed free and open range.

But the settlers came and those who stayed were a hardy lot. In county after county the tide began to turn, population-wise, and the grangers found a legal means

to defend their rights—the Herd Law.

In Custer, Keith, Frontier, and other counties, a public referendum eliminated the proviso of 1877, thus endorsing the Herd Law. In the fall of 1886, Cheyenne County, comprising the entire south half of the Panhandle, found the votes to defeat the cattlemen. Following closely on legislation making it illegal to fence the public domain, the Herd Law tolled the death knell for the Bay State, along with other big spreads.

Enforcing the Herd Law was not easy but often a rancher was brought into court for damages done by his herds to the waving grain or the green corn stalks of the settler. Also there were acts of violence and tragic happenings. Claims and counter-claims were defended with the Winchester and the six-shooter.

Wyoming's Maverick Law added to the controversy. Beginning in 1884 roundups in the Panhandle were conducted by Wyoming Stock Growers Association rules. Under the Maverick Law all motherless calves automatically became the property of the association. And stock with a brand not accepted by the association inspectors was classed as mavericks, and auctioned off for association funds. With the subsequent discrimination against the owners of small herds the enmity between the big operators and the grangers increased, with more violence.

With a badly overstocked range—perhaps the chief cause of the downfall of the cattle baron and one he himself had brought about—the “Great White Ruin” of 1885-86 was a disaster. Out of the Dakotas the blizzard roared, cattle drifting before it until they piled up in great heaps and froze to death. Pumpkin Creek on Bay State land was filled with carcasses for ten miles and their losses were stupendous, though perhaps not the 100,000 estimated by some.

Reeling from those losses the devastating winter of 1886-87 hit hard, and the cattle kings accepted defeat in Nebraska. They moved out in the summer of 1887. Most of the cattle were shoved over the line into Wyoming, already overstocked, but with no Herd Law. Lineriders, with Mike Shonsey as foreman, fought to keep the cattle from heading back to their home range.

The Bay State looked for something less crowded. They herded 10,000 steers to Judith Basin in Montana, but their “she-stuff,” 20,000 head, was pushed into the Big Horn Basin of north Wyoming where the corporation, through John McShane, had bought a ranch.

The move was well organized with each herd of 5,000 under a foreman with a crew of 20 to 30 men. Percy Brazier was one foreman, S. J. Robb another. Both later returned to Nebraska. Among the riders was Nick Ray, good-looking, proficient with horse and rope, whose life would end in a hail of bullets at the K C ranchhouse during the Johnson County Invasion of 1892. Another was Morrell Wyman who stayed in Wyoming, and another was Ed Eaton who was later involved in the last cattle and sheep war of the West.

With the bawling, horn tossing, hoof clacking clamor of the last herd of Bay State stock growing fainter up the Platte the spectacular years of the Bay State in Nebraska drew to a close. The Bay State as a corporation would survive only a few more years but the name of Bay State for a ranch still lives on.

Only after the other areas of Wyoming were overstocked had eyes turned to the Big Horn Basin of north central Wyoming. Here was virgin land, but encircled by mountains and far from market. Only necessity pushed the cattlemen over that barrier, and it was more than a decade after Iliff shipped his first beef from Cheyenne before any cattle nosed their way into the Basin.

The cattle kings came in a rush from 1879 to 1881, with many foreign holdings in the Cody country in the northwest corner. The first to reach the southeast was W. P. Noble, who called the Basin a cowman's paradise. He set up headquarters on Ten Sleep Creek on the west slope of the Big Horn Mountains—this would become the Bay State.

Noble soon had neighbors, among them the adjoining Bar X Bar, established by the English company of Moreton Frewen, already on the Powder River, and the Shield, managed by Beckwith and Quinn, on the Upper No Wood to the south. Within two years the entire Basin was stocked with cattle.

In 1886 the Bay State Land and Cattle Company bought the Noble spread, preparing for the move from the Nebraska Panhandle.

The cattle barons of the Big Horn Basin had sole use of this wide open range for less than a decade. In 1885 the first “nester” family trailed into this last frontier of the nation. Between 1885 and 1893 they streamed across the rugged mountains, taking up the choice lands along the creeks that rollicked their way down the mountainsides.

The homesteaders—“nesters” or worse to the cattlemen—threw up their log cabins and built their barbed wire fences. This was Wyoming and the public domain was free range. With no Herd Law here the settler had to fence out the cattleman's herds—but he had just as much right to that range. He built up his little herd of cattle and numerous brands appeared on the free range, a burr under the saddle of the big cattle king.

Trouble was brewing when the hard winter of 1886-87, with tragic cattle losses, forced many big cattlemen of the Basin, especially the manager-operated spreads, to liquidate their holdings. The newly arrived Bay State bought out the Shield outfit and later acquired more deeded land and range claims, including some Bar X Bar holdings.

The cattlemen of the Basin, big and little, had learned that they must produce hay to carry their herds through the winter. New methods of ranching were developed and many a cowhand had to lay aside his rope to ride a mowing machine.

By the early '90s markets had tumbled, freight and interest rates were high, predators were taking a big toll, and the range, with dry summers, was overgrazed. The bonanza times for the cattlemen were gone and he looked for someone to bear the primary blame. He settled on the "nester," for rustlers were riding the range and, to the big cattleman, the "nester" and the rustler were synonymous.

To combat the rustling problem range detectives were increasingly active all over the state, sent out by the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. They were seen in the Basin—Frank Canton, Joe Le Fors, Mike Shonsey and even Tom Horn. There were lynchings and murders. A spirit of frustration, anger, and hate rode the land.

The explosive situation erupted in the Johnson County War of 1892, the invasion by the big cattlemen into the territory on the Powder River, dotted with homesteaders' shacks and, the cattlemen declared, most of them sheltered a rustler.

At that time Johnson County extended westward over the Big Horns to the Big Horn River, including the Ten Sleep country and the Bay State. No Big Horn Basin cattlemen took an overt part in the Invasion but it has been said that some big operators were "very fidgety" that spring. Some men who took part in the Invasion had links to the Bay State.

Without doubt the Nebraska herds trailing into Wyoming territory to an already overcrowded range were some of the causes of the Johnson County War. Men with ties to those Nebraska spreads of pre-1887 appeared prominently in the Invasion—Bill Guthrie, Billy Irvine, Tom Waggoner, Fred Hesse and others.

The story of the Johnson County War, beginning with the murder of Nick Ray and Nate Champion, has been told and re-told, with both sides justifying their actions. But changes came, the homesteaders were there to stay, and the little cattleman replaced the big. One big outfit, the Bay State, struggled to hang on, with patents for land that became part of their holdings showing the names of men involved in the Invasion—Algernon J. Winn, Frank Kemp, Fred Hesse, Sutherland and others.

During the '90s the Bay State ran only 12 to 14,000 head of cattle, and records show that they paid taxes on but 300 in 1897—presumably all except the strays were sold off in 1896. Those were the twilight years. In 1898 the Bay State Land and Cattle Company was closed out by Judge Woolworth of Omaha.

Roe Emery acquired the ranch, still called the Bay State, and operated it until 1908. George Saban, a former Rough Rider with Col. Torrey, but later a family man, was the next owner.

For years another problem had "itched the skin" of the cattleman—the coming of the sheepman. Certain that sheep would despoil the range the cattlemen throughout the West sometimes reacted with violence. But the sheepmen were a stubborn lot—the flocks stayed and more came.

It was some years before they edged into the Ten Sleep country. When they did the cattlemen posted "dead lines." Joe Ernge and Joe Allemand refused to honor the dead lines, with tragic results.

Masked men swooped down on the sheep camp on Spring Creek on April 2, 1909, and left three men dead, dogs killed, sheep slaughtered and wagons burned.

This was the Spring Creek Raid, last of the cattle-sheep wars of the West. Five cattlemen—after two others had turned state's evidence in return for a promise of no prosecution—were tried. Ed Eaton, the cowhand who had come from Nebraska with the Bay State cattle in 1887, was one who was found guilty of arson. George Saban, owner of the Bay State, was one who was found guilty of second degree murder.

Saban turned all his assets, the Bay State Ranch, cattle, horses, and machinery over to his father-in-law, W. T. Whaley. The Saban family continued to live on the ranch until Whaley sold to William Spratt in 1916. The Spratts held the place until 1945.

Those were years of change in ranch operations. On the Bay State tractor powered machinery replaced the horse drawn mowers and rakes. Cattle strains were improved—there were no traces of the old Texas longhorns. A big new barn overshadowed the old log sheds. In 1943 fire took the original rambling log ranch house on the Ten Sleep and a new modern home was built.

In Nebraska, too, reminders of the Bay State were erased with the razing of the old mansion. Did the ghosts of those cowboys sitting on the hill marveling at such a thing as an indoor toilet, watch its passing? Perhaps they wondered at other new ways.

There were changes in ranch management. The Forest Reserves, the Taylor Grazing Act, the Bureau of Land Management—the cattlemen faced them all and, with the same ingrained stubbornness of those old cattle barons, he made a howl of protest at each change, but he adjusted. He battled drought and blizzards, high interest, taxes, and freight rates, depressed markets and labor shortages. Along with the others the Bay State hung on, owned now by Clair Lyman.

Certainly the cattle business of today has little resemblance to that of early times. That great exciting era of the big cattle spreads was truly a phenomenon, a last fling of the American frontier. It couldn't have happened before the railroad touched the fringes of that wide-spreading rangeland. For a time there were none to vie with the cattle interests, but it had to be a passing, short-lived era, for the rapid building of the railroads made those lands accessible to the grangers and settlement of them was inevitable.

It all happened so quickly, it was such a short, wonderful, terrible, and amazing kind of time. But the glamor and adventure of that brief era has made a lasting place in history that will never be erased—a history which the Bay State helped to write.

BOOK REVIEWS

Artifacts and the American Past. By Thomas J. Schlereth. (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1980). Index. Bib. Appendix. 294 pp. Cloth, \$13.95. Paper, \$10.50.

Learning about our past should be an exciting, challenging and rewarding experience for everyone. Unfortunately, many times our initial introduction to historical inquiries, usually in the classroom, reading from an outdated text, memorizing the important names, events and dates which are usually promptly forgotten, tends to turn off rather than turn on the majority of students. However, as Thomas J. Schlereth mentions in the introduction of his book, *Artifacts and the American Past*, during the past two decades new techniques for the teaching of history have gradually been developed. These techniques strive to include the student in the investigative and research process of history. Through cross-disciplinary studies, the emphasis of these new techniques is on "learning as intellectual inquiry rather than rote memorization."

In the ten essays which make up *Artifacts and the American Past*, Schlereth offers the teacher, museum educator and researcher an interesting assortment of methods, techniques and ideas which incorporate material culture artifacts into the teaching and research process. The museum, historical society and library are invited to become partners in this exciting adventure.

Artifacts and the American Past is divided into four topical sections: graphics as artifacts; historic sites as artifacts; landscapes as artifacts and a final essay which examines our perceptions of American history. Within each section, three essays, each dealing with one aspect of the main theme, are presented. Extensive notes and bibliographic information are provided for each essay.

Section I, graphics as artifacts, concentrates on the uses of photography, mail order catalogs and cartographic materials as teaching tools and research materials. Using

examples taken from his own teaching experiences, Schlereth explains how an ordinary snapshot, a Sears, Roebuck catalog or a city map can become a focal point for an investigation into the cultural, social and economic history of a specific time, place or group.

Although the uses the author suggests for graphics may not come as a surprise to many, the wide variety presented may be the spark needed to ignite a new exciting program in your classroom or museum. But ideas and techniques are not the only information to be found here. Schlereth also gives good advice on the pitfalls associated with the uses of graphics, particularly the abuses of historic photographs when used as historical evidence. He also incorporates a brief history of the development of each form of graphic resource, while his bibliographical citations compose a historiography of research in each of the three areas.

Whereas Section I offers insightful reading for almost anyone interested in historical research and teaching, Section II will appeal most to museum professionals and teachers. In this section, Schlereth identifies seven teaching approaches, which turn the historic house museum or historic village setting into a "cross-disciplinary laboratory." For each approach the author identifies the topic of inquiry, student projects and a listing of bibliographical resources. One of the more fascinating approaches is the interior space concepts, where the student is encouraged to acquire a personal experience with the house and thereby begins to understand the relationships between artifacts, house design and interpersonal relationships, and then translate this understanding into a broader knowledge of the social history of a given time and place. The final essay in this section uses the artifacts from the 1876 Centennial Exhibition as a springboard for a study of 19th century cultural history.

Section III presents perhaps the best example of Schlereth's use of cross-disciplinary studies. Incorporating the work of architects, botanists, urban planners and land-

scape architects the author attempts to show how building shapes, vegetation, street placement, and the layout of a garden can be used as artifacts in and of themselves. In one example the author explains how the study of tree variety and placement can indicate settlement patterns, be the clues to ethnic origins in specific neighborhoods and visual folk art. In another essay he examines the use of the Chicago Model as an example of regional studies which describe the investigating of a single city as a microcosm for the study of social and economic trends present in the nation during a specific time period.

In the final section, Schlereth acts as a "devil's advocate" by defining six "historical fallacies" which he hopes will help the reader "evaluate our attitudes toward, our distortion about and our uses of the American past," and three suggestions which he proposes may correct these fallacies in our methods as teachers, museum curators and educators and researchers.

As a final assessment of this book, several reservations must be mentioned. First, this book isn't easy to read; the style is laborious and the content tends toward redundancy. Although it contains some valuable ideas and concepts, they are a struggle to dig out. Second, the majority of teaching strategies are geared toward use in a university seminar setting, few can be applied to the elementary, junior or senior high school or museum education program without a great deal of adjustment. And finally, if you are looking for a book which will give you step by step guidelines on the uses of specific material culture artifacts, look elsewhere. *Artifacts and the American Past* is an idea book, not a teaching manual.

MICHAEL KELLY

The reviewer is the historian at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming.

Butterflies of the Rocky Mountain States. Edited with an introduction by Clifford D. Ferris and Martin Brown. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981). Glossary. Color Plates. Photos. Maps. Checklist of Species. 442 pp. Paper, \$15.95. Cloth, \$35.

In his book *The Forest and the Sea* Marston Bates begins with an interesting anecdote concerning the study of life: "People often come to me with some strange animal they have found. 'What is it?' they ask. . . . 'Oh,' I say brightly, 'that is a swallowtail butterfly, *Papilio cresphontes*.' It is curious how happy people are to have a name for something, for an animal or plant, even though they know nothing about it beyond the name." Bates goes on to describe how other questions about the specimen invariably follow including "almost inevitably" the ques-

tion, "What good is it?" He states he has never learned how to deal with this question and often his reaction is to ask in turn "What good are you?" Finally, he says that the question should not be, "What good is it?" but, "What is its role in the economy of nature?" It is not surprising that Bates should settle on this question because he was an ecologist and ecology is the science and study of the economy of nature.

Butterflies of the Rocky Mountain States is a book designed to answer the question, What is it?, when it comes to butterflies. Primarily a reference book, it is different than standard manuals. The emphasis is more ecological and its style is more readable than most manuals used mainly for identification. In its favor, it does these things without sacrificing scientific validity and comprehensiveness. It covers the subject. As an ecologist, I found this approach more appealing, and the book more useful in determining the role of butterflies in "the economy of nature." The book is a collective effort with eight contributors including the editors.

There are over 500 entries in the checklist of butterflies in the back of the book and, to aid in identification, four color plates representing 73 species and 102 specimens. The cost of showing every species in color would have been prohibitive. Besides the authors agreed that 90 percent of our butterflies could be identified from black and white illustrations.

The book starts out on a historical continuity with the past, by mentioning 15 early butterfly collectors in the Rocky Mountain region. The main part of the book is divided into three sections: five chapters of introductory material; five chapters of species-group entries and appended materials.

The question, "What is its role in the economy of nature?" can be partially answered by identifying an organism's habitat and in the first chapter entitled "Biogeography," 16 habitats in three land forms: the plains, mountain and plateau river systems are listed.

Each habitat is briefly described with special attention to its plants and altitudes. Chapter 2, "Butterfly Bionomics," could also be called butterflies. It deals with life-cycles, behavior, feeding, diseases, economic aspects, variation, genetics, and speciation. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 deal with external anatomy, taxonomy and collecting and preserving specimens. The second major section, chapters 6-10, deals with species-group entries. The appended materials include a glossary, a bibliography, maps, collection locality data, checklist of the butterflies of the Rocky Mountain states, a general index, an index to butterfly names and an index to butterfly food plants mentioned in the text. This text organization seems quite logical and all inclusive of supporting material one would need to study butterflies.

In conclusion, this volume is a worthwhile reference. It adds to our understanding not only of butterflies but

also their relationships and roles in their environment.

It certainly helps a scientist answer, "What good is it?"

WILLIAM C. EDWARDS

Dr. Edwards is a professor of science at Laramie County Community College in Cheyenne and a Wyoming state legislator.

A Forty-Niner in Utah: Letters and Journal of John Hudson. Edited by Brigham D. Madsen. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1981). Bib. Illus. 227 pp. \$22.50.

"No one can tell in what circumstances they may be placed while journeying through life," reflected English-born John Hudson as he taught school in a pioneer Utah Valley settlement in 1850. Within months of this philosophic musing, Hudson died of pneumonia at age 24, and was buried in an unmarked grave in Manti, Utah.

Hudson, who had emigrated to the United States in 1848 for business reasons, was on his way to the gold fields of California in 1849 when illness forced him to stop in Salt Lake City. He had no intention of remaining in Utah. His letters home made frequent mention of his thoughts of continuing the journey to California, but circumstances decreed that he would spend the rest of his short life in the Mormons' newly founded State of Deseret where he labored as a schoolmaster, artist to Captain Howard Stansbury's Great Salt Lake Expedition, court clerk and settler in Manti.

A Forty-Niner in Utah, edited by University of Utah history professor, Brigham Madsen, is a compilation of letters, journal entries and drawings produced by Hudson from the time he started his journey from Birmingham, England, in August, 1848, to the time of his death in December, 1850. It also includes an elaborate set of explanatory footnotes and biographic commentary by editor Madsen as well as an index and an appendix that reproduces the preamble and by-laws of a gold company, Colony Guard, which Hudson joined in New York City in 1849. These materials, particularly the journal entries that cover Hudson's exploits with Captain Stansbury, vividly depict frontier life in Utah. Hudson had received a "solid English education" which, coupled with his observant and cheerful nature, allowed him to describe his circumstances and surroundings with a skillfulness that was praised by Madsen who commented:

John Hudson has left us a rich treasure of panoramic views and sparkling descriptions, an inheritance that transcends his unmarked grave. There is a lilt and an elan to his prose, a dash of good humor and an eagerness to discover and report the scenes which lie just over the next ridge.

A Forty-Niner in Utah is a success. Hudson's experiences, personality and style of expression elevate the book to a plane that, in Madsen's words, "leaves one with a

feeling of pleasant contemplation and serene satisfaction." Madsen's editorial expertise gives the volume's narrative a smooth-flowing, organized sense of completeness and factual accuracy while a preface by Everett Cooley on the purchase of Hudson's papers by the University of Utah (a fine little story in itself) establishes a tone of scholarly enterprise within the book. And the printing of *A Forty-Niner in Utah*, 11th in a series of similar works by the Tanner Trust Fund, is commendable for the attention to details such as quality of paper and binding, selection of type and spacing so that each page is aesthetically attractive, and the use of tints to set off Hudson's artistic drawings.

In sum, *A Forty-Niner in Utah* will fit comfortably on any shelf where there are classic works on the exploration and settlement of the Rocky Mountain West. It is a rich combination of primary source materials, expert editing and high-quality printing. The product is not only good reading, but it is an effective commentary on the value of recording and preserving personal experiences.

WALTER R. JONES

Jones, formerly Uinta County, Wyoming, librarian, is now with the University of Utah Archives.

Summer Range. By Peggy Simson Curry. (Story, Wyoming: Dooryard Press, 1981). 46 pp. Cloth, \$10. Paper, \$5.

Peggy Simson Curry and her writing are quite familiar to Wyoming readers. The author of four novels, a creative-writing text, a unique poetry volume entitled *Red Wind of Wyoming*, and twice a winner of Golden Spur Awards for her short fiction, Peggy Curry is a popular figure at readings and workshop sessions around the state. In 1981 she was named Wyoming's Poet Laureate by the Legislature. *Summer Range*, her new book of poetry, is a significant addition to the region's literature and makes available some 35 poems, most of which have not been collected before.

Many of the poems are, however, familiar to those who have enjoyed Peggy Curry's readings, and this makes the book doubly welcome. Among many well-known pieces included in the volume are "When Words First Spoke to Me," "Jack Patton," "Driving Down from the Big Horns," and "Someone Left Summer," which is both deceptively simple and moving:

What shall we have when love is chaff,
Our fields fallow with frost?
Grant some small highway of the heart
By bundled grass or grain
Be marked in all our snowy traveling
That we may smile and say,
"Ah, what a summering was there!"

Several threads of interest run through *Summer Range*. For the Wyoming reader, there is a great deal of the region's past and present within these poems, ranging from the hardship and tragedy of early settlement in "Lower Prairie Dog Creek" to the modern portrait of impacted growth in "Wyoming Boom Town."

It sprawls in kingdoms of rattlesnakes
and rape among the sagebrush.
Bars bulge with cash,
shake to belly-gusts of laughter.
In grocery stores price soar higher,
unpredictable as January blizzards
stalling traffic for a hundred miles.

There are also many selections in *Summer Range* which effectively present familiar locales, with "place" usually becoming a springboard to deeper implications. Alcova Lake, the Big Horn Mountains, Wind River Indian Reservation, Bear River Valley, and Deadwood, South Dakota, are typical backdrops. Other poems present more generalized settings, as in one of several love poems in the volume, "Lupine Ridge," a group of three six-line stanzas linked by the repeated initial line and the rhymed final two lines in each stanza. In the last stanza, Peggy Curry moves skillfully to the implications for the couple walking together on the lupine-covered ridge.

Long after we are gone,
Summer will stroke this ridge in blue;
The hawk still fly above the flowers.
Thinking, perhaps, the sky has fallen
And back and forth forever he may trace
His shadow on its azure face.

Long after we are gone,
Evening wind will languish here
Between the lupine and the sage
To die a little death upon the earth,
As though over the sundown prairies fell
A requiem from a bronze-tongued bell.

Long after we are gone,
This ridge will shape the night,
Lifting the wine-streaked west,
Shouldering the stars. And always here
Lovers will walk under the summer skies
Through flowers the color of your eyes.

Here and in other of the poems, a reader is caught up in images and language through which the poet creates a sense of believability, pleasure, in the scene itself, and then shapes meaning and emotion from that background.

Throughout *Summer Range*, Peggy Curry utilizes her careful observation and understanding of the natural world. Moreover, she relates nature to human feelings and attitudes, with the poet both observer and participant in changing scenes and seasons, as in "Late Spring":

When shall the willows stir from sleep,
wandering tongues of water wound
in lover's knots around their roots?

When shall clouds spill first spring rain,
green begin to weave through winter grass?
When by rote of leaf-dream from the earth
shall trees predict the returning of the birds?

I wait on weathers of my own—
thrust of sun in mind and heart,
rain where old dreams sleep in quiet rest,
the winds that say, "Begin . . ."

Another source of interest in the volume is the inclusion of pieces dealing with the poet's youthful experiences. Readers familiar with Peggy Curry's fine novel *So Far from Spring* will enjoy the poems drawing upon, in personal terms now, the North Park ranching background treated fictionally in that novel. Examples are "When Words First Spoke to Me," "Jack Patton," "The Hunt," and the moving portrait of father and daughter in "Winter Barns."

In winter barns of my childhood
There were dances. I remember
Danny Boy Shy Ann and do-si-do.
Feet beat mouse dust from the floorboards,
Our ballroom smelled of harness and the hay.
Women's skirts swung rainbow bells
In swing and promenade. Their sweating men
Held summer buttoned in their shirts
And never shed their ties.

Small wallflower rescued by my father,
The chords wound round us in a waltz.
The fiddles cried my joy and anguish
As my father led my stumbling feet,
His beaming face my only sun.

The range of experience treated in Peggy Curry's poetry moves from such re-created memories up to the present, and this breadth of subject and perspective becomes one of the collection's strengths. As one of the newer publishers in the state, Dooryard Press should be commended for bringing out *Summer Range*, a book deeply rooted in Wyoming life, in well-designed cloth and paperback editions. The volume will appeal to readers who know Peggy Curry's novels and the Johnson County Cattle War narrative poem, *Red Wind of Wyoming*, to those who wish to see how Western material can be shaped into sound poetry by an excellent author and writing teacher, and to many others who have been awaiting the publication of a new collection of work by Wyoming's first Poet Laureate.

ROBERT A. RORIPAUGH

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Indians of the Pacific Northwest. By Robert H. Ruby and Robert A. Brown. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981). Index. Bib. Illus. Photos. Maps. 294 pp. \$24.95.

Indians of the Pacific Northwest will be a welcome addition to the libraries of both academic scholars of American Indian history and to the lay reader seeking to expand his understanding of a complex era in our national history. Targeted for the general reading public, the book never-

theless provides students of northwest coast history with an excellent secondary source reference.

The authors, concise and for the most part comprehensive, have provided an excellent historical narrative covering White-Indian political relations from first contacts to the early 20th century. The geographic area covered in the book includes the Washington and Oregon coastline as well as the plateau country drained by the Columbia River system. The northwest plains and California receive some peripheral treatment.

Specific themes dealt with include early contact, sea otter and other fur trade, economic relations with the native populations, Christianity and the Protestant/Catholic fight for conversions of souls, white immigration, the military's arrival and impact, treaty makers and breakers, revitalization and nativistic movements and the reservation system.

From the point of view of historical narrative, the themes are comprehensively discussed and given adequate treatment in view of the scope of subject matter involved. The book is highly informative and objective in its presentation of events and the figures behind them.

Indians of the Pacific Northwest is weak in its lack of interpretive framework. A synthesis is needed to provide the reader with an understanding of the baseline aboriginal culture and its response to increasing acculturative pressure from white populations. The book would be stronger and more informative if acculturation and the concurrent factionalism as well as the subsequent disintegration of social organization, kinship systems, religion and subsistence patterns could be portrayed.

Such an addition would provide a rationale in Chapter 14 for Kamiakin's ultimate failure at unifying the Plateau bands, provide a foundation in Chapter 20 for understanding the desperation of Captain Jack's Modoc war and explain Chapter 21 where revitalistic movements are outlined. Such additions need not be extensive and would help buttress the copious information already provided. History should explain cause as well as effect and, if a second edition were warranted, such information should be seriously considered for inclusion.

Students of western history will find this book informative, easy to read and well formatted. Photographs and illustrations are well done and may be profitably employed by anthropologists as well as historic archaeologists. *Indians of the Pacific Northwest* should be well received.

W. MICHAEL GEAR

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Chan Chan: Andean Desert City. Edited by Michael E. Moseley and Kent C. Day. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1982). Glossary. Bib. Index. Illus. 349 pp. \$29.95.

This book presents the results of an Advanced Seminar in archaeology held at the School of American Research in April 1976. A specific topic of the seminar was on the Chan Chan - Moche project of 1969-74. In a word, this volume is about pre-Inca civilization on the northwest coast of Peru and its sociopolitical and economic systems. Chan Chan is located on the desert coastal plain of the Moche Valley approximately 340 miles north of Lima, Peru. Its ruins cover an area of over six square kilometers. The nucleus of the site consists of ten major rectangular enclosures (ciudadelas). Each of these enclosures was surrounded by 30 foot-high adobe (sun-dried earthen brick) walls that protected the people who lived inside these enclosures. Some of the enclosures are as large as 400 by 200 meters in extent. Chan Chan is one of the most extraordinary archaeological sites in the Americas. The site of Chan Chan is known to have been the capital of the Chimú kingdom (A.D. 900-1467) which had been taken over by the conquering Incas.

There are 14 chapters in the volume which deal almost exclusively with socioeconomic and/or political systems of the Chimú empire centered at Chan Chan. Most authors of the volume have intensively studied patterns of enclosures and structures in an effort to depict social, economic and political systems of the chimu (specially chapters 3, 5, 6, 7 and 9). Even the chronology of the Chan Chan was based upon an analysis of adobes (chapter 4). Several chapters (8, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14) attempted to trace the cultural development in the Moche Valley from the Early Intermediate Period in order to understand the socioeconomic systems of Chan Chan.

Overall, this book is a highly specialized publication on socioeconomic and political systems of pre-Inca civilization. Major findings are primarily based upon the architectures of the ruins of Chan Chan and Moche Valley. As a result, this volume makes a significant contribution to pre-Inca studies as well as our understanding of cultural traditions of the Inca civilization. Although it is designed to appeal to professional audiences, this publication will also be of interest to students of anthropology, archaeology and history. Any individual seriously interested in the New World civilizations should have a copy of this book on their shelves.

Finally, there are a couple of points I would like to point out which could help to broaden the appeal to general audiences. First, a synthesis of findings of the Chan Chan - Moche project of 1969-74 would be a great assistance to general readers. Secondly, there is a complete lack of artifact illustrations. A few plates showing Chimú pottery and other artifacts would also be beneficial to readers.

CHUNG HO LEE

Dr. Lee is an associate professor of archaeology at the University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Rodeo: An Anthropologist Looks at the Wild and the Tame. By Elizabeth Atwood Lawrence. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982). Index. Illus. 336 pp. \$19.50.

If there is one sport that embodies and defines the myths of a culture, it is rodeo. And if the ethos of the West is individual conquest of the untamed, then rodeo serves aptly as metaphor. Using rodeo as "text," anthropologist Elizabeth Atwood Lawrence provides an analysis of a distinct cultural group: the rodeo and ranch people of the American West. Given that the heritage of these people—pioneering, homesteading, moving back the frontier, "civilizing"—is shared by many, and that Lawrence may be right when she suggests that that heritage may have much to do with what we identify as the American collective consciousness, this book raises provocative questions about our relationship with our environment and the living species with whom we share that environment.

Field research for this book meant "going on down the road" (following the rodeo circuit). For three years Lawrence attended rodeos across the West. To achieve an "insider's" view she overcame a major obstacle, her sex, and gained access "behind the chutes," where rarely a woman is allowed. Her primary sources were the events of the rodeo, rodeo contestants and ranch owners. She interviewed contestants and ranchers at length. She listened to their language and their songs, looked at their clothing, and examined their relationships with people and other animals. Frequently she cites historical, literary, anthropological and sociological sources to corroborate her findings.

Lawrence's primary thesis is that rodeo manifests the two major dichotomies that form the warp and weave of Western American consciousness: individualism versus conformity and nature versus culture. With the exception of team roping and the wild horse race, rodeo events are individual contests: the lone individual pitted against brute force or the lone individual demonstrating a fine-tuned skill. In interviewing rodeo contestants and ranchers, Lawrence found that most had internalized the ethos of rugged individualism. Yet, rodeo and ranch folk exhibit "considerable inward conformity" as a group, as most visibly shown by their attire and language. The paradox of the celebration yet subordination of the individual is best seen in the structure of the rodeo itself: the individual competes alone, but unless the rodeo announcer mentions the best time or score, or unless the fan keeps a pencil handy to note scores, the spectators may not know who won. There is no time set aside during the rodeo to acknowledge the individual winners.

Rodeo consists of contests and displays which demonstrate rule governed patterns of human domination (culture) over animals (nature). Saddle bronc riding, for example, one of rodeo's most popular events, is symbolic

of a contradictory Western response to nature. Rodeo fans and the riders themselves are disappointed if the bronc doesn't "give a good ride." What is wanted is a horse that is extremely wild and unpredictable. When the contestants draw for their rides, they all hope to get the one horse that has never been ridden. Of course, that makes for better contest and a rider will score more points. But in this event it is more the vivid display of wildness than the skill of the rider that delights the rodeo fans and engenders enthusiastic admiration on the part of the rodeo contestants. Still, the rider must control, must bring out or display the animal's wildness.

What is most intriguing and perhaps unique about Lawrence's analysis is her thorough investigation of the relationship between humans and animals among rodeo and ranch people, and her investigation of the male view of women in the rodeo/ranch world. The animals that are used in rodeo and that are part of the daily experience of ranch life, horses and cattle, are objectified as tool and product but also have symbolic functions. It is with these animals that strength, prowess, individualism, endurance and aggressive competition can be demonstrated; it is by virtue of these animals that the Western male ethos persists. These animals are perceived as "other," in the sense that their value is measured in terms of how well they serve as vehicles by which men can manifest themselves as the primary agents of culture.

Rodeo is primarily a man's sport, just as ranching is a male domain. And within this rodeo/ranch world, women are also seen as "other." As Lawrence explains, "good" women are "kept remote by exaggerated respect" and are expected to perform their womanly tasks quietly. Women who do enter rodeo events are considered unfeminine and somehow aberrant, even those who participate only in the events relegated to women: barrel racing and goat tying. In her final chapters, Lawrence shows how this same perception of "otherness" extends to predatory animals, animals in general, land, and most assuredly the whole of nature. Rodeo/ranch men see themselves as set apart from and pitted against all else in the natural world, women included.

Rodeo requires patient reading, for Lawrence is not a particularly inspired writer. Too often it is a formulaic structure that carries the narrative from chapter to chapter. At times Lawrence extends her analysis to absurd extremes. For example, she interprets one cowboy's delight with the color of red blood on a yellow horse to be suggestive of the Crucifixion. And Lawrence seems sometimes too caught up in the romantic mystique of the West to be objective, too willing to give the reader the Marlboro image of the West. Still, the value of the book remains. What Lawrence shows us is a series of dichotomies that are deeply rooted in our culture and burden us as an albatross. The unstated question is, if we continue to embrace dichotomies which force conceptual wedges between the human world and the natural

world, and if we split the human world with those same wedges, where shall we have our being?

BERNICE HARRIS

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The Sandbar. By Walter Jones (aka *History of the Sand Bar. [1888-1977]* by Walter R. Jones), (Casper: BASO, Inc., 1981). Illus. 202 pp. \$16.95.

This book displays a “first,” at least for this reviewer. It has two distinctly different titles. The cover has one title and author, no initial, and the title page has a totally different title with the author’s name including an initial. Throughout the book the area is referred to as the “Sand Bar” in the text and on the title page; the “sand-bar” or “sand bar” in most of the quotes and as “The Sandbar” on the cover. None of the variations are explained. “Sand Bar” is chosen for this review.

Anyone who was familiar with Casper prior to the urban renewal of the 1970s will be interested in the subject of this book. The Sand Bar was where locals took out-of-town visitors. In its hey-day, it was an area of bars, bordellos and gambling places. Not that there was much to see from the 1950s on, except some dilapidated buildings, cribs turned into legitimate low-income housing and a couple of “sporting houses” that everyone knew existed but pretended didn’t.

The stories about the Sand Bar persisted. Air National Guardsmen stationed during the summer months at the old Casper air base headed for the Sand Bar first chance they had. Why? Because it was “off limits” and had been since WWII. There was a certain mystique about it. In fact, there were some Casper residents who were rather proud of its reputation.

The Sand Bar tale is fascinating and begs to be told. Unfortunately, the story Jones tries to tell is lost in the untidiest job of publishing this reviewer has ever seen.

This is reportedly the first book published by BASO, Inc. Perhaps that explains some of its difficulties. There are more typos than are normally found in a rough draft. They defy description, however, one example is worthy of note. On page 183 (known only because it follows page 182, but for some unexplained reason the pagination was omitted), is the following outline: “One of the major concerns of the Urban Renewal Agency was that the Sand bar (sic) should have new streets, curbs, butters (sic), sidewalks . . . workmen are lying (sic) pipe along . . .” Get the picture?

Diagrams, graphics and facsimiles are poorly reproduced and poorly placed. Ink is smeared, especially in reproductions of newspaper articles. In one instance, two newspaper articles are placed so close together, they appear to be one.

There is little, if any, consistency in technical style. Some quotes are set off with spacing and italics, others are within the regular paragraphs with no italics. Sometimes the titles of newspapers following a quote are in italics, other times they are in caps. There are so many typographical errors that the reader soon stops reading and starts looking for mistakes. It was no challenge.

There are no footnotes. Sources are parenthetical following the quotes. On page 18, there is reference to a footnote in the text, but there is not a footnote to be found anywhere. There is no other documentation. There is no bibliography, no index and no dust jacket.

There is no continuity. The text jumps around from 1917 to 1921 and back to 1917, then to 1937 and back again. To add to the confusion, photos do not match the text. An ad for a 1946’s Sand Bar business is mixed in with text concerning WWI and the 1920s. The reader gets the impression they were shuffled and tossed in wherever there was a blank spot, regardless of appropriateness.

Jones has done a lot of research and it deserves better treatment. His story would have far-reaching appeal if the book had been edited and produced differently.

Fledgling authors would do well to examine (not necessarily buy) this book. There is much to be learned regarding lay-out, editing, and the scholarly design of a good history. Further, it teaches one respect for the printer’s craft.

MARION HUSEAS

Mrs. Huseas, a former resident of Casper, is Curator of History for the Wyoming State Museum. She has lectured and written extensively on entertainment in the frontier West.

American Labor in the Southwest: The First One Hundred Years. Edited by James C. Foster. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982). Index. 236 pp. Cloth, \$18.50. Paper, \$9.85.

Professor Foster’s goal in putting this book together is laudable, but far too much of the content is lamentable. He correctly notes that it is high time for the study of western history to turn away from cowboys and Indians to the rural and urban workers of the 20th century who built much of the economy we see today. To achieve this

aim, the editor selected 14 papers from a March, 1977, conference to represent some of the latest scholarship on this subject.

The essays are of uneven quality, as is so often the case with edited books. The section on the Western Federation of Miners contains two pieces by Foster on this union, one for those interested in the intricacies of computerized history and the other dealing with miners in Arizona and Alaska. D. H. Dinwoodie completes this section with a look at the rise of the Mine-Hill Union in the 1930s and 1940s, not arguing convincingly as to this organization's effectiveness for its many Mexican American members.

Other short essays deal with disparate aspects of unionized labor. There are two studies of the Industrial Workers of the World, a seemingly obligatory subject for a volume on labor. The section on farm workers has a valuable essay by Art Carstens which details the history of California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975. H. L. Mitchell's piece on farm workers is disjointed. Edward D. Beechert treats the relationship between race and unionization in Hawaii.

The section on Mexican labor has the most solid individual essays. John M. Hart and Rodney Anderson have written two historiographical gems on the nature of the Mexican Liberal Party and its relation to organized labor in Mexico. David Maciel has given us a good, brief overview of the 20th century dynamics of Mexican immigration to the United States.

"Labor and Politics," the last section, shows that labor has failed politically in the West. This is highlighted by two case studies, one on Senator Carl Hayden's career and the other on Texas state politics in the 1940s and 1950s. The book abruptly ends with a *mea culpa* by Monsignor Charles O. Rice for his anti-communist activities in the CIO.

While a few of the individual essays are worthy of attention, my major quarrel is with the manner in which Professor Foster has put this book together. It leaves unanswered or inadequately explained far too many questions. Do essays now one-half of a decade old truly represent the cutting edge of scholarship? Why does a book entitled *American Labor in the Southwest* have studies on Alaska, Hawaii, and Mexico? Moreover, the editor has failed to inform his reader just what these findings indicate. He does not, to give only one example, explain why western labor was radical and characterized by charismatic leaders. His thought that these are explained by "something peculiar indeed with the sky, the air, the water," or "a touch of Buffalo Bill Cody, or a dash of Jim Bridger" (p.9) is meaningless. Where does he see western labor going from here? What issues should be explored to answer the unanswered?

Only those who feel compelled to read everything on labor in the West should bother with this book. The

significance of the latest scholarship on western labor still awaits its interpreter.

LAWRENCE A. CARDOSO

The reviewer is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Wyoming and has done extensive research and publishing on Hispanics in the American West.

Boom Town Newspapers—Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Frontier, 1859-1881. By David Fridtjof Halaas. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981). Index. Bib. Illus. 192 pp. \$14.95.

Since colonial days in New England, American newspapers have chronicled the growth of the nation and furnished grist for written histories.

Newspapers, then, in a very real way have been on the leading edge of history. And a zesty example is documented in *Boom Town Newspapers*, written by David Halaas who is on the staff of the Colorado State Historical Society. In this book a genre of newspapers itself is the subject of early history along the front range of the Rocky Mountains.

Author David Halaas sketches the role of journalism in the rough-and-tumble mining camps from Denver north to Montana and south to Arizona during the two decades following the 1859 gold rush to the Rockies. He profiles the men with derring-do and "shirttails full of type" who ventured to this frontier. And he portrays the fortunes as well as the failures of their newspaper enterprises in a loose-knit narrative woven with documented vignettes that span 20 years or so.

These vignettes, many clipped from the newspapers themselves, reflect the often turbulent evolution of boom towns and the uncertain destiny of practitioners of frontier journalism.

Although raw and excessive in tenor at times, frontier journalism is depicted as having had a stabilizing influence within the mining camp communities—even within those that appeared only to disappear. The newspapers that endured the free-wheeling frontier, in some instances, have grown old and prominent and dependable—such as Denver's Rocky Mountain News (1859).

In summary, *Boom Town Newspapers* reflects an interesting wedge of American journalism. And the book, laced with well-referenced footnotes and a broad bibliography, is also a substantive addition to the library of western history.

ROBERT C. WARNER

The reviewer is Assistant Professor of Journalism at the University of Wyoming.

The World Rushed In. The California Gold Rush Experience. By J. S. Holliday. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981). Maps. Illus. Appendix. Bib. 559 pp. \$16.95.

The common man has rarely been retrieved more eloquently from the past than J. S. Holliday has done in *The World Rushed In*. Based on the diary of William Swain, a '49er from Niagara County, New York, Holliday's work offers an eyewitness account of a journey across a continent, and the ensuing hardships of life in the placer streams of California.

From the outset, Holliday makes clear his intent only to serve as a guide to Swain's diary and letters. Each chapter has a brief introduction to provide a context for correspondences and diary entries, and from there on, the show belongs to William Swain.

While it is well known that the migration to the California gold fields attracted its portion of unsavory characters, William Swain was surely not among them. Perhaps what is most significant about this book, is that an ordinary man, trying to make a go of life, comes off so well.

Swain was a devoted husband, father and brother. His trip across the frontier was complicated by the knowledge that so many of his friends and neighbors questioned the judgment of a man who would leave his family to embark on such a perilous quest. But Swain had confidence in himself, and trusted that he was doing the right thing. Throughout his absence from home, he avoided the gambling, whiskey and brothels of the gold rush country, always remaining true to his moral code and family.

Swain was a man at peace with himself, and possibly that explains the easy flow of words and vivid descriptions that so characterize his diary. The excitement of the

first glimpse of Courthouse Rock, the dreaded trip along the vanishing Humboldt, and the terrible indecision at Lassen's Cut-Off, are all carefully noted. Everyday Swain faithfully wrote in his diary, determined to share all his experiences with family and friends when he finally returned to New York. Not even the trials of Nevada's Black Rock Desert, or the frustration brought on by searching for elusive shortcuts, prevented Swain from writing.

Once in California, Swain, like most of his contemporaries, dreamed of yelling "eureka!", and of returning home with wealth and a repertoire of fine tales. But, like the majority of his peers, Swain left the gold fields only with the tales. The Sierra streams failed to yield the glitter he had hoped for. El Dorado proved fleeting after all.

Finally acknowledging defeat, Swain left the gold fields for San Francisco and the sea voyage home. There he joined the hordes of other ex-miners who boarded decrepit ships, where along with their faded dreams, they brought to a close their California adventure.

In resurrecting the life of William Swain, Holliday demonstrates a master's touch in combining scholarship with fine writing. One finishes the book with a warm feeling for Swain, and it is unquestionably a tribute to Holliday's narrative talents that the reader is allowed this pleasure. In 1897, 46 years after he had returned home, on their 50th wedding anniversary, Swain's wife, Sabrina, lovingly raised a glass and toasted, "to my '49er." It was, after all those years, still a decision that he was proud of.

I wish I had known him.

ALBIN J. COFONE

The reviewer is a professor of anthropology at Suffolk Community College, Selden, New York.

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